



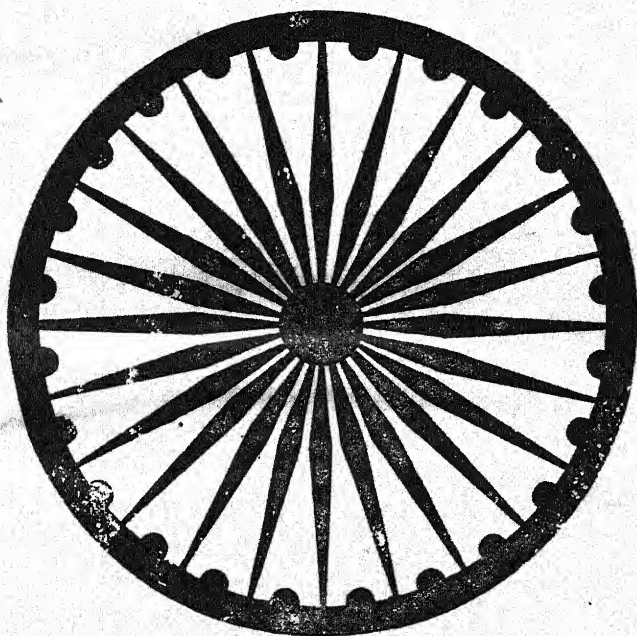
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Vol. XXXV



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JOURNAL OF THE BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY

March-June 1949

CONTENTS

Leading Articles

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| I. Two Copper Plate Inscriptions of the Early Ganga Kings of Kalinga. By <i>Shri Satyanarayana Rajaguru</i> , W. B. P., Research Assistant, Kalinga Historical Society, (with plates) | 1 |
| II. Annual Review of the Bihar Research Society, 1948-49. By the Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha. | 28 |
| III. A note on Abhidharma-Samuccaya Bhasya and its Author Sthiramati. By <i>Prahlada Pradhan</i> , Santiniketan, Bolpur. | 34 |
| IV. The Sunga Dynasty. By <i>Tarapada Bhattacharya</i> , M.A., D. Litt., Professor, B. N. College, Patna. | 47 |
| V. The Appointment of the First Indian Deputy Collector in Tirhoot under the Rule of the English East India Company (Based on Muzaffarpur Collectorate Records). By <i>Surajdeo Narain</i> , M. A., B. L., G. B. B. College, Muzaffarpur. | 61 |
| VI. The Location of Seigerdis. By <i>S. V. Sohoni</i> , I.C.S. | 71 |
| VII. Schism and Sarnath. By <i>Adris Banerji</i> , M. A., Curator, Nalanda Museum, Nalanda. | 74 |
| VIII. Khandika and Kalinga. By <i>S. V. Sohoni</i> , I. C. S. | 91 |
| IX. A Study of the Word Brahman. By <i>Buddha Prakash</i> , M. A., LL. B., Farrukhabad. | 93 |
| <i>Reviews and Notices of Books</i> | |
| 1. A Mahodaya Art Souvenir of "Theertha" and "Varna", from the Immortal Bhoja Royal House of the 11th Century, 9th February, 1948, Mahodaya Day. By <i>M. K. Ranganathan</i> Engineer, P. W. D. (Retired). By <i>Dr. J. N. Sarkar</i> , M. A., Ph. D. | 97 |
| 2. Indian Constitutional Document Vol. III. Edited with Introduction and Notes by <i>Dr. Anil Chandra Banerjee</i> , M. A., P. R. S., Ph. D., Lecturer in History. Calcutta University. By <i>Dr. K. K. Datta</i> , M. A. P. R. S., Ph. D. | 99 |

3. *India's March to Freedom*. By Dr. K. K. Datta, By Dr. Hari Ranjan Ghoshal M. A., D. Litt. 100
 4. *Coins of Marwar (from 400 B. C. to 1945 A. D.)*. By Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, and Sumer Public Library, Jodhpur. By Dr. J. N. Sarkar, M. A., Ph. D. 101
- Notes of the Quarter*
- Annual Report of the Bihar Research Society for 1948-49. 104
- Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar Research Society held on the 3rd April, 1949. 106
- Proceedings of the Meeting of the Council held on January 16, 1949. 107
- Appendix.*
- Mudgaradutam*. By the late Prof. Ramavatara Sarma, Sahityacharya, M. A., Patna College.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY

Sept-Dec. 1949

CONTENTS

Articles

| | PAGE |
|---|------|
| I. Sasanka. By Dr. B.P. Sinha, Ph.D. (Lond) Patna University. | 111 |
| III. Some New Light on the Gahadavalas of Kanauj: The Kasiraja of the Prakrtapaingalam and his Chief Minister Vidyadhara. By Dasharatha Sharma, M.A., D. Litt. Hindu College, Delhi | 155 |
| III. A note on the Word Navakoti in the Title Navakoti Karnata Kalavaragesvara. By Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, M.A., Ph. D. | 161 |
| IV. Calcutta-Oudh Correspondence Relating to Jahandar Shah, 1788 A.D. By Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Professor of History, Patna College, Patna | 165 |
| V. The first Attempt to open a Public Granary in Tirhoot in the Regime of the East India Company Based on the Muzaffarpur Collectorate Records). By Suraj Deo Narain, M.A., B. L., Asst. Professor of History, G.B.B. College, Muzaffarpur. | 175 |
| VI. The Central Executive from 1784 to 1833. By Professor Sachchidananda, M.A., Patna College | 183 |
| VII. The Rape of Indian Ships in the Indian Waters, 1612. By Dr. J.N. Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D., Patna College. | 199 |
| <i>Notes of the Quarter</i> | |
| Proceedings of the Meeting of the Council held on July 17, 1949 | 213 |
| Annual Statement of Accounts for 1948-49 | 215 |

JOURNAL

OF THE

Bihar Research Society

VOL. XXXV]

1949

[PTS. I & II

TWO COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE EARLY GANGA KINGS OF KALINGA.

By

(SRI SATYANARAYANA RAJGURU, W.B.P.,
RESEARCH ASSISTANT, KALINGA HISTORICAL
RESEARCH SOCIETY)

Two sets of copper plate inscriptions of the Early Ganga Kings of Kalinga came to my hands in course of my research on epigraphic remains of Orissa. The history of their discovery is given below :—

(No.1. Set.)

The Nirakarapur plates of Udayakhedi.

Pandit Sadasiva Ratha, Research Scholar, Utkal University, brought this set of plates to my notice in the month of June 1947. I deciphered the inscription with the help of the original plates. This set of copper plates was discovered, as I was told, from the village of Nirakarapur in the Puri District, situated on the B.N. Railway between Khurda road and Kaluparaghat. The plates are now preserved with Sri Ramkrishna Bhagat of Puri whose father acquired them from the owner.

The set consists of three Copper plates each measuring about 6.5" X 3.25" and they are hinged in a copper ring, which is shouldered in a circular seal bearing the figure of a lying bull at its centre, having a crescent moon on the top and a half-blown-lotus at the bottom.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the script is of the "North-Kalinga-type" *. The inscription, on the whole, is legible except in one or two places, where the plates are found damaged.

TEXT

1st Plate, 2nd Side

- १। ओ^३ स्वस्ति । अमरपुरानुकारिण (:) सर्वत्तुसुख
- २। रव(म) णीयाद्विजयवरकलिङ्गनगराधिवासकात्
- ३। महेन्द्राचलामलशिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य सचराच-
- ४। रगुरो (:) सकलभुवननिर्माणिक स (श) शा (०) क
- ५। चूडामणे (मण) भगवन्त (तो) गोकर्णस्वा-
- ६। मिनश्चरण (:) कमलयुगप्रणाम (मा) द्विगत कलि
- ७। कालकलङ्को (S) नेकाह (व) संक्षोभि भज^१ जय शब्द प्र-
- ८। तापानि (न) त श (स) मस्तसामन्तचक्रचूडामणिप्रभाम-

2nd Plate, 1st Side

- १। ऊजरि (री) पुञ्जरञ्जितवरचरणो निव्दभ^२ ध्वारा (रो) पार्जित स-
- १०। कलकलिङ्गाधिराज्यप्रविततसितकुमुदकुन्देन्द्रभ-
- ११। वदाता^३ वरविनिर्गतयसो (शो) ध्वस्तारातिकुलाचलो
- १२। नयविनयदयादानदाक्षिण्यत्यागादिगु-
- १३। ण शं (सं) प (ण) दाधारभूतो परममाहेश्वरो
- १४। मातापितृपादानुध्य (ध्या) ता गङ्गामलकुलतिलक
- १५। भूपेन्द्रवर्म्मसुतस्य श्री देवेन्द्रवर्म्म (॥) राय वण-
- १६। राधि विनिर्गतः कदम्ब वंसो (शो) द्भवकुलतिलकमहा

2nd Plate ; 2nd Side

- १७। रटजदेवपुत्रसमधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द * * * *
- १८। नाधिपत्य धर्मखेडि सुतस्य उग्रखेडि (॥) उग्रखेडि सुत
- १९। श्री उदयाखेडि राज्यमिति (॥) नरेन्द्रवे (भो) ग पगडाखेडो ग्राम
- २०। विशुक (व) सङ्क्रान्ति वाराह (?) ब्राह्मण तां (ता) म्ब (म्) शाश (स) नं
- २१। दत्वा विष्णु भट (टे) ण क्षेनि^४ व (वृ) ति सोम भट (टे) ण एक वृ-
- २२। ति (के) लु भट (टे) ण देह^५ वृति जेठ भट (टे) ण देह वृति रेचम भ-
- २३। ट (टे) ण देह वृति नन्दिकुरा भट (टे) ण देह मधु भट (टे) ण एक
- २४। वृति (पिङ्गल) भट (टे) ण पञ्च पाद गोगय अयन देह वृ-

3rd Plate ; 1st Side

- २५। ति दामय (भटेण) पञ्च वृति सोमया दिक्षित वृति भावि भ-

* As this type of script is mostly found in the districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam, I am inclined to call it the "North-Kalingan Character".

(1) Read संक्षोभ जनित

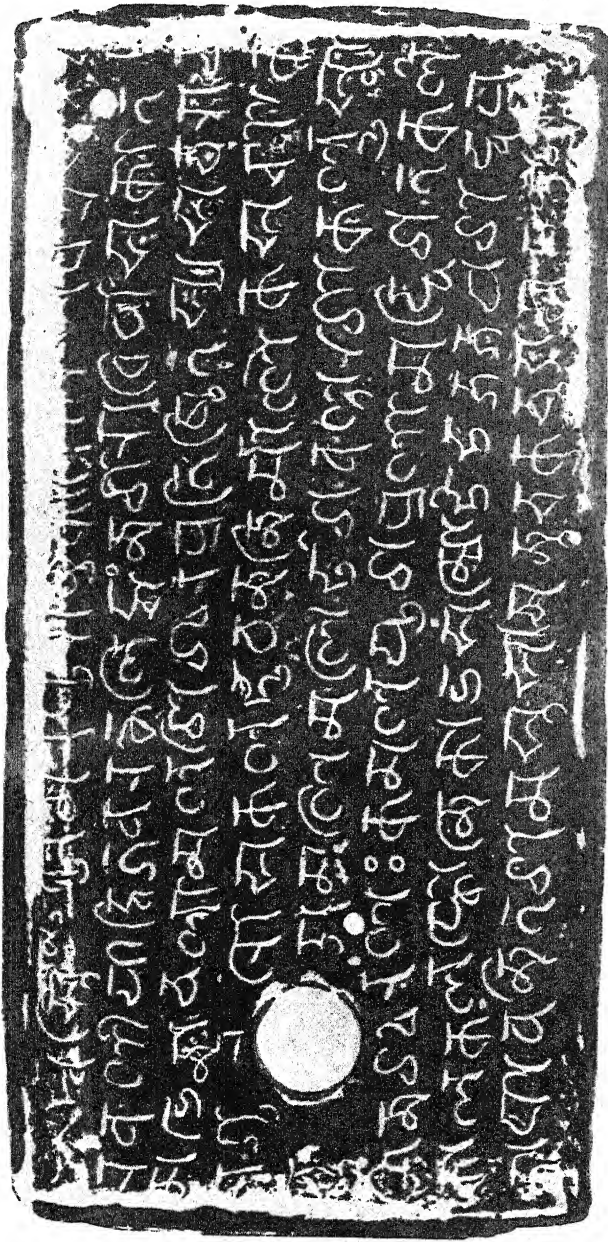
(2) Read निस्त्रिंश

(3) Read कुन्देन्द्रवदात

(4) Read either "द्वि" in Sanscrit or "दुई" in Oriya.

(5) "देह" is a Pracrit Form (Probably Oriya) means one and a half.

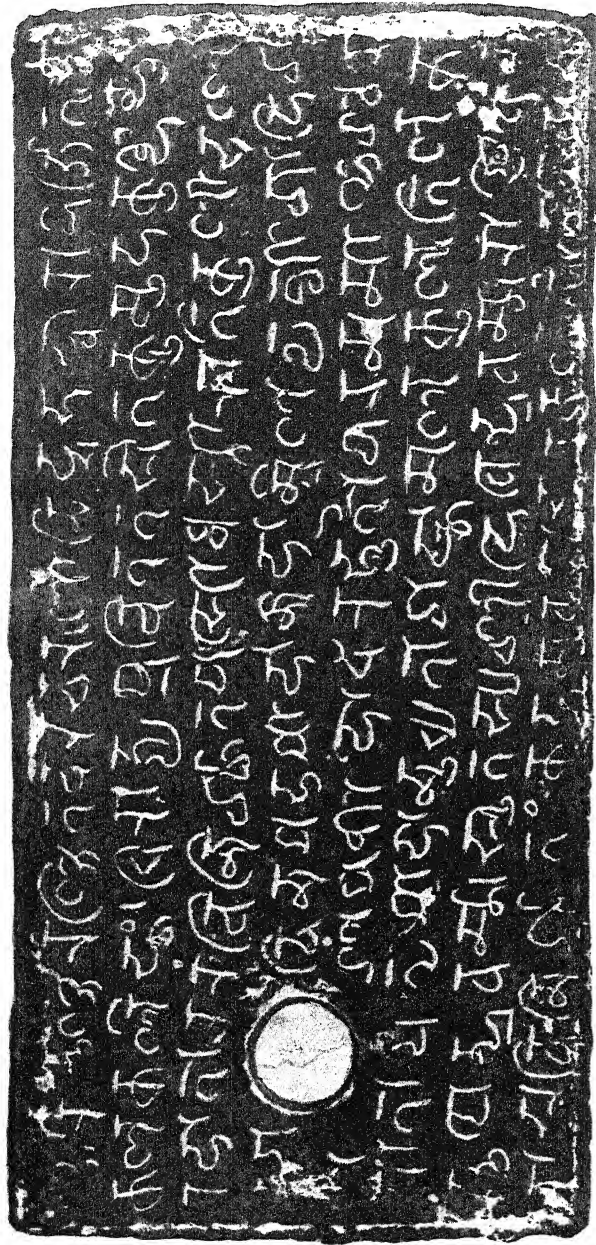
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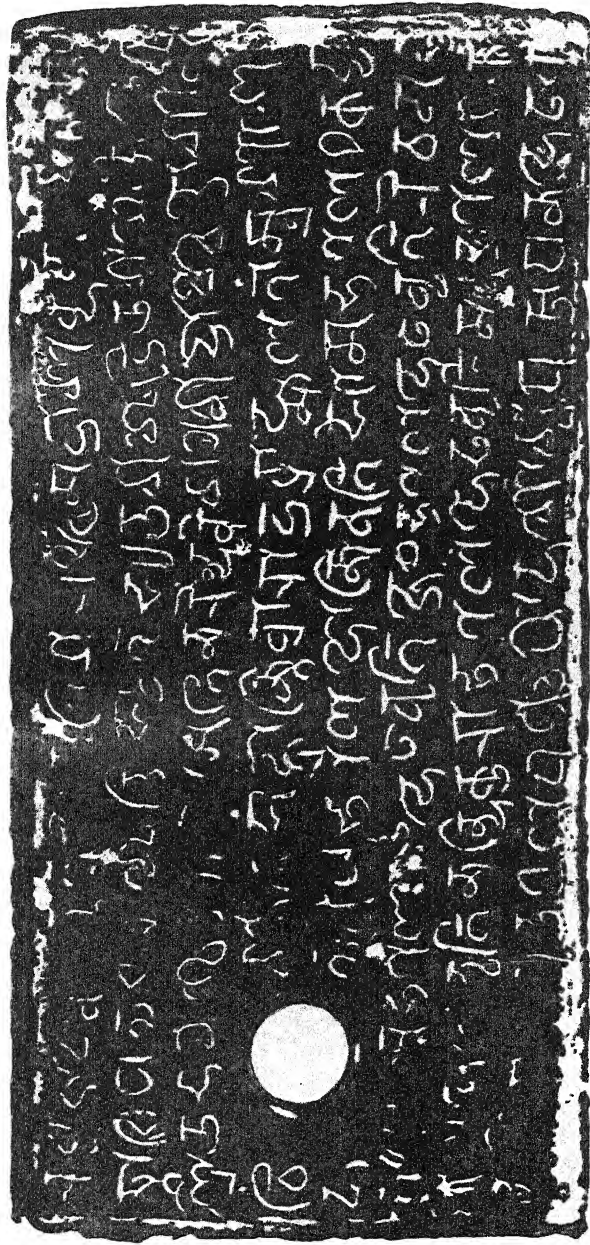
II Plate 1st side.



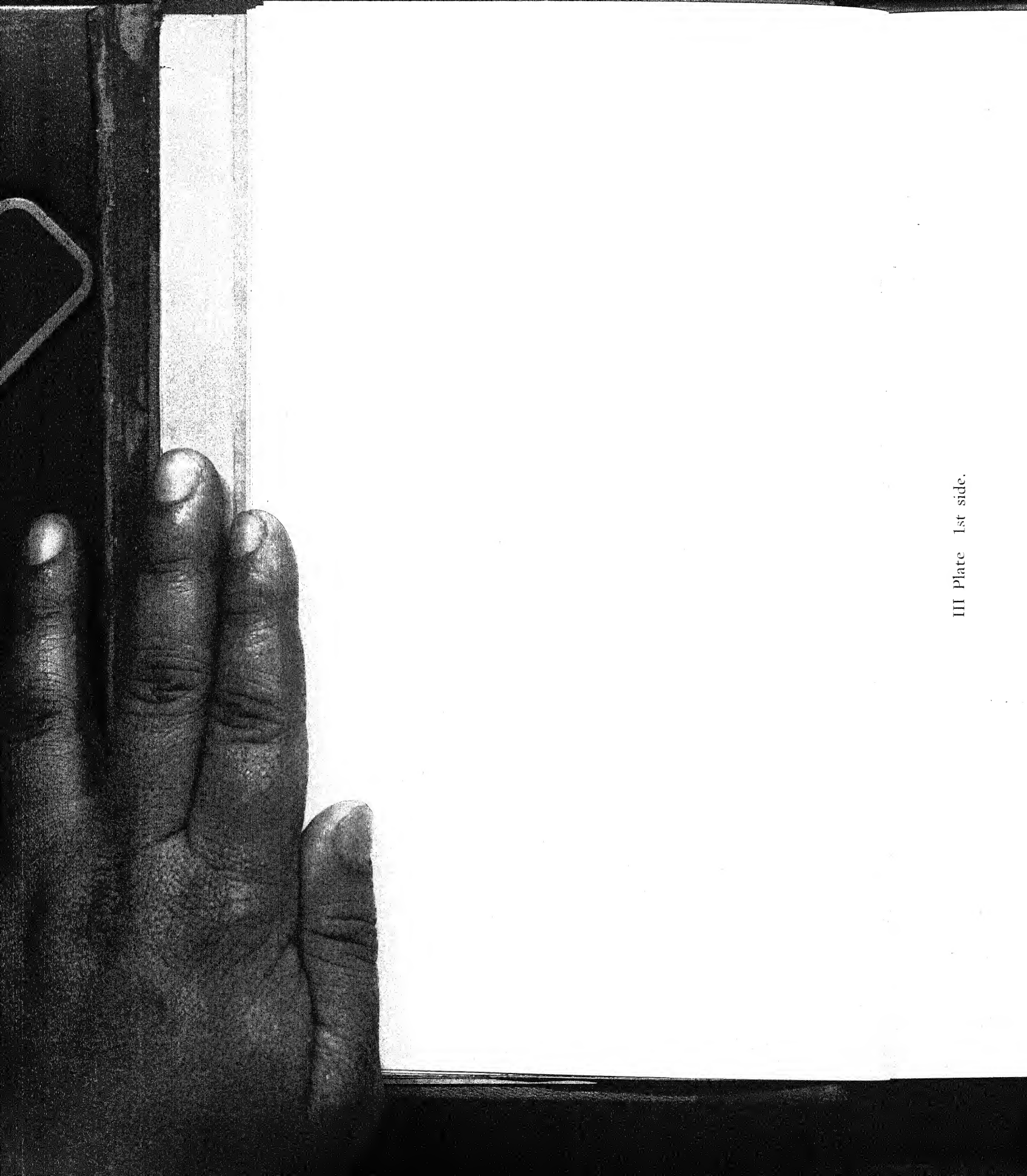
NIRAKARPUR COPPER PLATE



II Plate 2nd side.



NIRAKARPUR COPPER PLATE



III Plate 1st side.



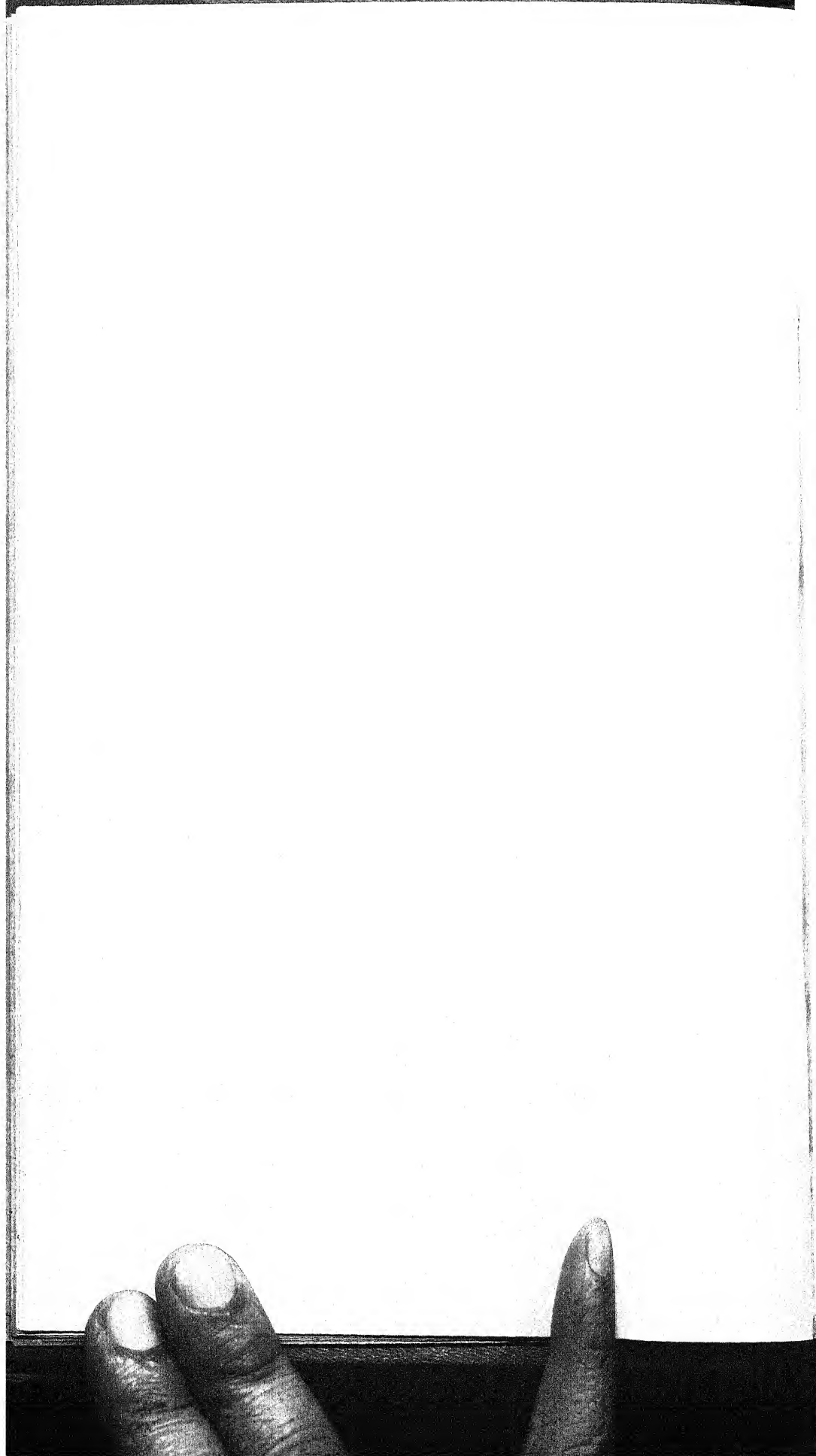
NIRAKARPUR COPPER PLATE



III Plate 2nd side.



NIRAKARPUR COPPER PLATE



- २६। ट (टे) ण वृत्तिर्ह्य^० वृत्ति मिति नाना गोत्रो पूर्वतः नदीक अ-
 २७। खे (क्ष) य (वट) वृक्षः दक्षिणतः ग (गु) लम्क भा (आ) दि तित्तिन (णि) वृ-
 २८। क्ष नैरि (रु) (त+) रथा (?) तत (:) पश्चिमत (:) औदुम्ब-
 २९। र वृक्षः ततः असुरालोक (०) गत्वा पर्वतः (त)-
 ३०। शिख रः उत्तरतः पर्वत शिखरः ईशान्या सख्यो-
 ३१। तुस नद्यः (॥) बहुभि वंसुधा दत्ता (!) राजभि (:) सगरादिभि (:)
 ३२। यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि (!) त (स्त) स्य तस्य तदा फलं । (।)

3rd Plate ; 2nd Side

- ३३। स्वदत्ता पर दत्ता (त्ता) म्वा योहरेति (त) वसुन्धरा (') कृमि
 ३४। भुतुः (भूत्वा) स विष्ठाया (') पितृभिः सह पच्यते (॥) * * जे
 ३५। क हस्तराज सुत कारकय * * *
 ३६। दानु आदित्य वान्त तनयः ॥

Translation.

"Om, Hail, From the victorious residence of Kalinga-nagara, which resembles the city of the immortals, charming and delightful (place) of all seasons,- the devout worshipper of Mahesvara (परममाहेश्वर), who adores the feet of (his) mother and father, the ornament of the spotless-family of the Gangas, Sri Devendra Varma, son of Bhupendra Varma, who is freed from the stains of the Kali age by his obeisance to the two lotus-feet of the moon-decorated-head, the God Gokarnnasvamin, lived on the fair summit of the Mahendra mountain, the sole creator of the moveable and immoveable, the constructor of the whole universe ; who , by his onslaught in many battles has roused the shouts of victory (for which sake) his blessed feet became radiant with thick, clusters of the lustre diadem of all the chieftains while bowing down at his feet ; whose fame is as bright as the water-lily, the jasmine (कुन्द), the moon, and diffused in all quarters, (and) who acquired the whole kingdom of Kalinga by his own sword ;-

(Here the inscription records that) ;—

"Having been migrated from the residence of Raya-Bana-rayi, the ornament of the dynasty derived from the Kadamba-vamsa-the offspring of (Maha) Rataja Deva-the holder of five great sounds Dharma-khedi's son Ug(r)a Khedi, Ugrakhedi's son Sri Udayakhedi—bein present in his kingdom, granted by issuing the copperg plates to the Braraha (2) Brahamins of different Gotras

6 "तर्ह्य" probably denotes the total number of Vritis (shares) as 9.

on the (auspicious occasion of) Vishuva-Sankranti, the village of Pagadakhedo, in (the district ? of) Narendrabe (bho)ga * (as mentioned below) :-

Vishnu Bhatta two shares (Vrittis), Some Bhatta one share, Jetha Bhatta one and a half shares, Rechama Bhatta one and a half shares, Nandikura Bhatta one and a half shares, Madhu Bhatta one share, Pedana Bhatta five Padas (feet) share, Gagaya Ayana one and a half shares, Damaya Bhatta (?) shares. Pomaya Dikshita (?) shares, Bhavi Bhatta (?) shares 'Ta' 9, ya' *"

(Then follows the boundary of the village thus granted as noted below :-)

"(To the east) the river (and) Akshya Vata (banyan) tree, to the south the Nimba-tree (and) an ant-hill, to the south-west the Timira-Srota (stream), to the west Audumvara tree, then at a distance of Asuralekam the mountain top, to the north-east the river current."

(Then follows two imprecatory and benedictive Slokas from Dharma-sastra)

"It is inscribed by the gold-smith (Po) maneka Hastaraja, son of Vayu- Aditya Banta."

The donor of this grant is one Udayakhedi who was the son of Urgakhedi and grandson of Dharmakhedi, an offspring of Maha-Rataja Deva of the Kadamba dynasty, and migrated from a place called Raya Banarayi. Udayakhedi was a chieftain under the Ganga king Devendra Varma, son of Bhupendra Varma of Kalinga. We are already in possession of two copper plate inscriptions of Devendra Varma, son of Bhupendra Varma (Vide Nos 13 & 14 of App. I), one of which was granted in the Ganga- era 397. And the Kambakaya grant of Udayaditya, successor of Dharmakhedi, was issued in the time of Devendra

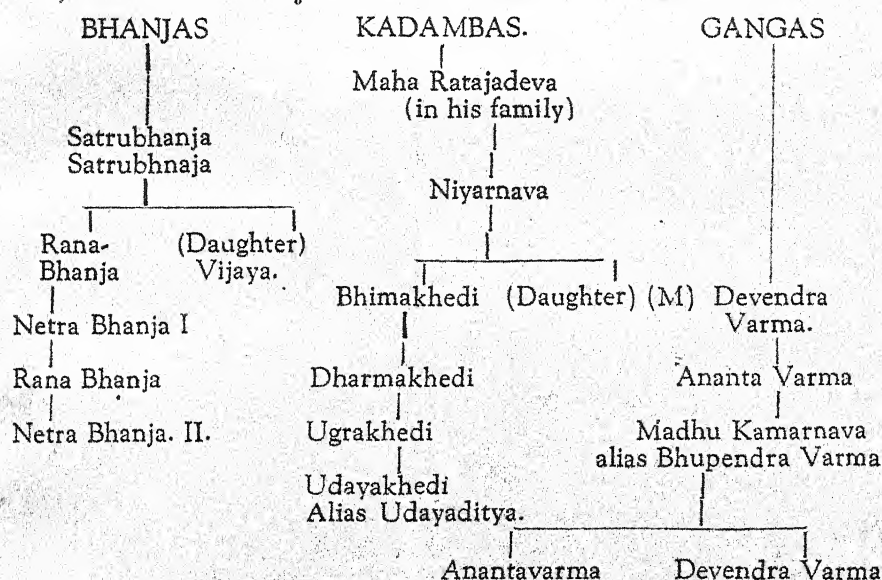
* Probably it is a mistake for Mahendrabhoga-Vishaya.

x Eachishare I think consists of 9 padas. According to astronomy each star holds 9 padas.

* The numerical figure 9 between the letters "त" and "य" probably denotes the total number of shares (Vrittis) given to Damaya, Pomaya and Bhavi.

† A measurement of distance, used in ancient days in Kalinga.

Varma, is Saka 1003 (I) (Vide No 16 App. I). Again in the Parlakimedi grant of Vajrahasta we meet the names of Ugrakhedi and Udayakhedi (Vide No. 11 App. I). So, it is quite probable that Udayakhedi and his overlord Devendra Varma, whose names are found in this grant, are no other than the persons mentioned in the above plates. It goes without saying that Udayakhedi alias Udayaditya was living in the time of Vajrahasta, as well as Devendra Varma, the two brothers, and sons of Bhupendra Varma, which fact has been revealed from our grant No. 2 Udayakhedi's relationship with Dharmakhedi is clearly known from this grant. Now the genealogy of the Kadambas of Kalinga stands thus with their relationship with the Gangas on one side, and the Bhanjas on the other :—



Scholars have been under the impression that the Kadambas of Kalinga migrated either from the Bombay Presidency or from Banabasi near Mysore in the South. It is rather interesting to note that the Kadambas and the Gangas were closely associated with each other in political and matrimonial matters. This kind of association is markedly found from the annals of Kalinga (Oriya Country) and Mysore (Kanarese Country). From several historical events it is proved that the Gangas and the Kadambas of Kalinga and that of Banabasi (Mysore) were the off-springs

of one parental group of Kshatriyas, who at first lived in a place, called 'Gangabadi' wherefrom they spread in different parts of the country, in course of time. Whether they moved from North to South or vice versa, is a matter of interest in the history of countries of the Oriyas as well as of the Kanarese. However, this grant flashes light in the problem by rendering the name of the original home land of the Kadambas of Kalinga as "Raya Banarayi" which I strongly believed is the modern Bonai of the Orissa Garjat, the ruler of which place belongs to the Kadambafamily.

With regard to the origin of the Kadambas of Banavasi (Mysore) Mr. G. M. Moraes, writes that the founder of the Kadamba kingdom was a Brahmin who received his education in Conjeevaram, under the Pallavas and revolted against them in A.D. 345. His successors established their capital at Banabasi, an ancient city in north Kanara district, close to the Mysore border. Politically the dynasty appears as an outpost of Gupta influence against Pallava aggression. With the decline of the Guptas the Kadambas were also overthrown by their quondam feudatories, the Chalukyas in about A. D. 610.

Nearly 350 years the Kadambas vanished from history. Then in about 973, with the overthrow of the Rashtrakutas and the revival of Chalukyan supremacy in the Western Deccan, a number of feudatory principalities arose, claiming to be of Kadamba lineage. This Kadamba tradition survived since the fall of the Chalukyas and persisted rather vaguely till the rise of Vijayanagara.*

It is no less important as to have a comparative study of facts relating to the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga and the Western Gangas of Mysore. From the inscriptions we learn that both the batches used some common names in their records. *Viz* :—

1. The Gangavamsa (dynasty)
2. Gangavadi (Country)
3. Kolaula or Kolahalapura (town)
4. Gokarnesvara (family deity) and
5. Nandagirinatha (deity)

* Vide Kadambakula by G. E. Moraes

So, there is coincidence in the names of their dominion and deity which are important factors to consider about their collateral contact.

The following passage may be cited from the Habbal inscription of Mara-simhadeva of the W. Ganga family :—

(L1. 10—13) :—

“स्वस्ति सत्यवाक कोङ्गुणिवर्म धर्म महाराजाधिराज
कोलालपुरवरेस्वर नन्दगिरिनाथ चलदुत्तरङ्ग
जग (दे) कवीर श्रीमत् नोलम्बकुलान्तकदेव
गङ्गा रसिङ्गा गङ्गा कन्दर्प गङ्गा चूडामणि
गुट्टिय गङ्गा मारसिंह देव नोलम्बवाडि.....
.....गङ्गावाडि.

(L1. 16) शकनृपकालातीत सम्बत्सर ८९६

(Vide Ep. Ind. Vol. IV, P. 350—6)

I request my readers to compare the above passage with the following one of the inscriptions of the Gangas of Kalinga :—

सकलकलिङ्गाधिराज्यपरममाहेस्वरो मातापितृपादानुध्यातो गङ्गामलकुलतिलक
श्री नन्दगिरिनाथ कोलाहलपुरपटण.....महाराजाधिराज परमेस्वर परमभट्टाकर श्री राजा
ईन्द्रवर्म देव कुशला.... पृथ्वीवर्मस्यसुतः

The phraseological expressions such as “कोलालपुरवरेस्वर नन्दगिरिनाथ”* in the former inscription, and that “श्री नन्दगिरिनाथ कोलाहलपुर पटण” in the latter are nevertheless significant ; and suggest to purport the collateral entity of both the lines.

It might be that originally they belonged to one homogeneous cognate stock of Kshatriyas, who like the other ruling races of Deccan migrated from the north. In course of their movement to the South a branch halted at Kalinga and another branch proceeded still further till they reached at their destination in the far south. It is rather suggestive that at first they became rulers of a place which they named as “Gangabadi” or “the homeland of the Ganga” ; and the town wherefrom they extended their administration was called Kolahalapura (the city of com-

* The title Natha in this name tempts me to look for this name the list of “Jaina-gurus” who existed with proficiency in that cult, as the Mysore-Gangas happened to be the strong disciples of Jainism.

motion). Indeed the same topographical nomenclature was adopted in their newly acquired lands, which prediction seems to be more plausible a solution to this intricate problem. So; we have to search for Kolahalapura (or Kolaula in its Prakrit form, found in the inscriptions) that was located in Kalinga. There are two places in the district of Ganjam, to which I attribute the glory of being the administrative centre of the Gangas. One is Kolada, a village in the Gumsoor—Tulak which was the capital town of the Bhanja rulers for a long period (See Ep. Ind. Vol. XIX. P. 41—45). This place, I believe, was referred to in the famous Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudra Gupta in the 4th Century A.D., as “Kaurala”. Since there is the interchange of letters between da, ra, and la according to the etymological formula, the word ‘Kaurala’ or ‘Kurala’ changed into ‘Kulada’ in course of time. But, so far as the identification of Kolaula is concerned, I am more inclined to point out a village called ‘Kēlaula’ situated just on the borders of Sana-Khimundi and Bada-khimudi zamindaries in Ganjam, wherefrom many antique reminiscences are found even to-day.*

It is noteworthy to examine the circumstances on which the Bangalore plates of Devendravarma, son of Rajendravarma of Kalinga, was discovered in a faraway place like Mysore. This inscription records the grant of a village in the district of ‘Barahavarttini’ in Kalinga on the occasion of Ayana Sankranti. The donor of this inscription is evidently the ruler No. 14 of our table No. 4, App. II. How this grant went to the hands of the Inam-Commissioner of Mysore is a mysterious event. But the following expression in this document reveals the name of “Sri-Parvata,” one of the centres of pilgrimage of the south :- “श्रीपर्वतवासि नवनीतराशि गुरवे...”

(vide Ep. Carnatica, Vol. IX. p. 33 No. 140.)

One interesting fact which attracts our attention is that there is the figure of an elephant (emblem) on its seal. What caused Devendra Varma to adopt this new emblem,

* I should invite attention of the authorities of the Arch. Dept. to examine this site, if it is a fit place to carry on historical excavation.

which is found only in the grants of the Western-Gangas, but never used by the Ganga rulers of Kalinga to whose family he belonged ? The answer to this riddle will give the clue for corroboration to our assumptions. The title of "Gajapati" is a familiar insignia of the imperial Gangas of Orissa. The Mysore Gangas have also possessed the same elephant-epithet, the origin of which epithet is still under obscurity and to be traced out even from the documents of the remote age like the famous Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela. From the accounts of Hiuentasang we learn that the ruler of the south was known as the "lord of elephant" (vide Beal, Buddhist records, Vol. I. P. 13.) Here I like to quote the following from the accounts of Mr. B. Lewis Rice, Director of Archaeological Research, Mysore :—

"According to the inscriptions the progenitor of the Kalinga-Gangas was Bhagadatta, between whom and his brother Sri Datta their father Vishnugupta divided his dominion, giving Kalinga to the former, and the ancestral kingdom *with the elephant* to the latter" (vide Ep. Car. Vol. IX. Intro, p.9). This is a very important and relevant piece of information which wipes out the mist looming on this issue. I think that this contribution of Mr. Rice is much useful while considering the following descriptive accounts with regard to the origin of the Kalinga Gangas, rendered by the copper plate inscriptions of Anantavarma-Chodaganga Deva of the 12th. Century A.D., which awaits scrupulous examination :—

“आसीदेक सितातपत्र तिलकक्षीणोभृदास्यात्मजो
वीरश्री वनिता स्वयंबृतपतिर्देवस्व कोलाहलम् ।
निर्मायोर्जित गङ्गावाडि विषये कोलहलाक्षपुरं
यश्चक्रे सुरसद्वीक्षणरसप्रसूह साक्षरगिहरे ॥

+ + + + +
जीत्वावाहुवलेनोवी वीरसिहस्वभूपति
सत्क्रियासमभिहारै विजिग्यसद्वम नाकिनाम् ।
तस्य कामार्णवस्सुतु दानार्णव मुखार्णवौ
मारसिह ईतिज्ञाता वज्रहस्ताक्ष पञ्चमः ॥
कामार्णवः पितु भ्रातु रसहिष्णुकुलादहः
शकोरेऽपि राज्यहरणे जहौदेसन्ननुक्रमम् ।

चतुर्भिरनुजैर्भिन्दन्नरेन्द्रानाहवोत्सुकान्
दन्तेर्देत्यानिवेन्द्रभ स प्रायाद् वासवीं दिशम् *॥

From the above quotation we learn that there was a king called Virasimha, who had five sons Viz. (1) Kamar-nava, (2) Danaranava, (3) Gunarnava, (4) Marasimha and (5) Vajrahasta. After the death of Virasimha his brother had driven away all the five sons from the country; and himself fraudulently ascended the throne of Gangavadi. Being thus deprived of inheritance by their jealous uncle, they proceeded to the South. At last they went at the top of the Mahendra mountain, where, after worshipping the God Gokernesvamin, they acquired the kingdom of Kalinga by killing one Sabaraditya on the battlefield.

I think there is some similarity between the Mysore-tradition and the Kalinga allegory which await further illucidation. Comprehending the above facts one has to conclude that the Gangas and Kadamdas did migrate from northern India.

(No. 2. plates)

The Chipurupalli plates of Anantavarma-Maharaja-dhiraja Vajrahastadeva (G.E.383)

This set of copper plates was discovered from Chipurupalli, a village situated at a distance of 16 miles to the east of Parlakimedi in Ganjam district, and about 9 miles to the north-west of Palasa, a railway station on the main line of B.N.R.

The plates were brought to my notice by Sri Simha-dri Paricha of Parlakimedi in the month of October, 1947, and they were acquired by His Highness the Maharaja of Kalahandi, the controlling authority of the Kalinga Historical Research Society. The plates are now preserved with the Maharaja Saheb.

The plates are three in number, each measuring about 7" x 2.75". They are hinged in a circular copper ring shouldered into a circular seal which bears no legend or emblem on it owing to its damaged condition.

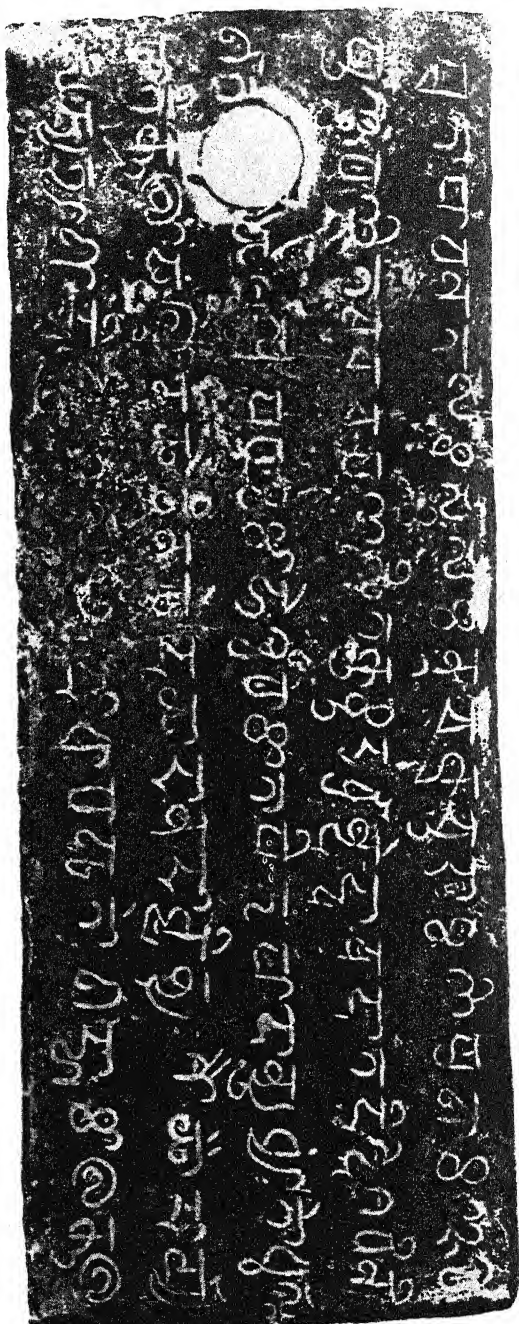
* It is doubtful if it is "वासवीं दिशम्" (to the east); or if we have to correct it as "दानवीं दिशम्" (to the south).

1st Plate 2nd side.

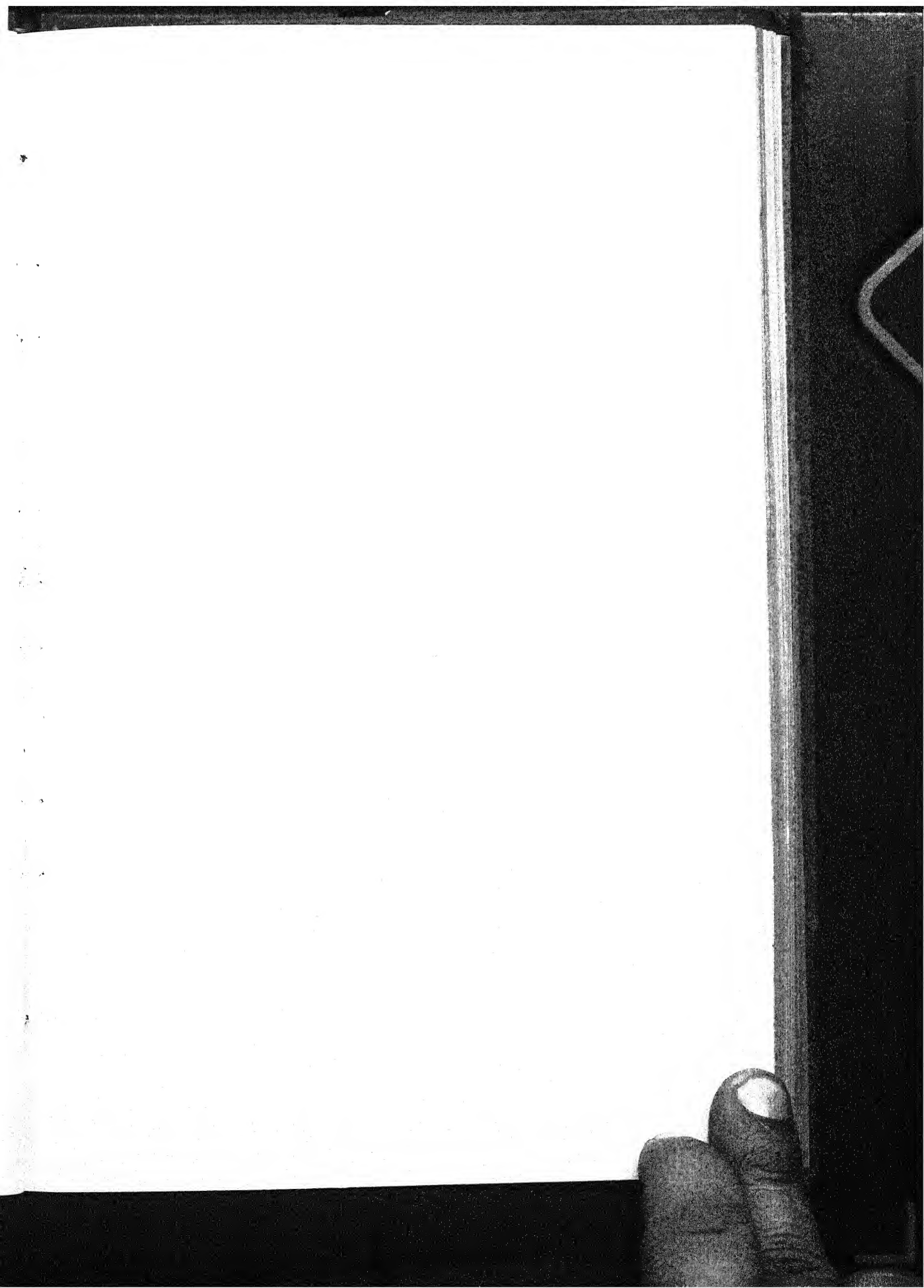
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

CHIPPURAPALLI COPPER PLATE

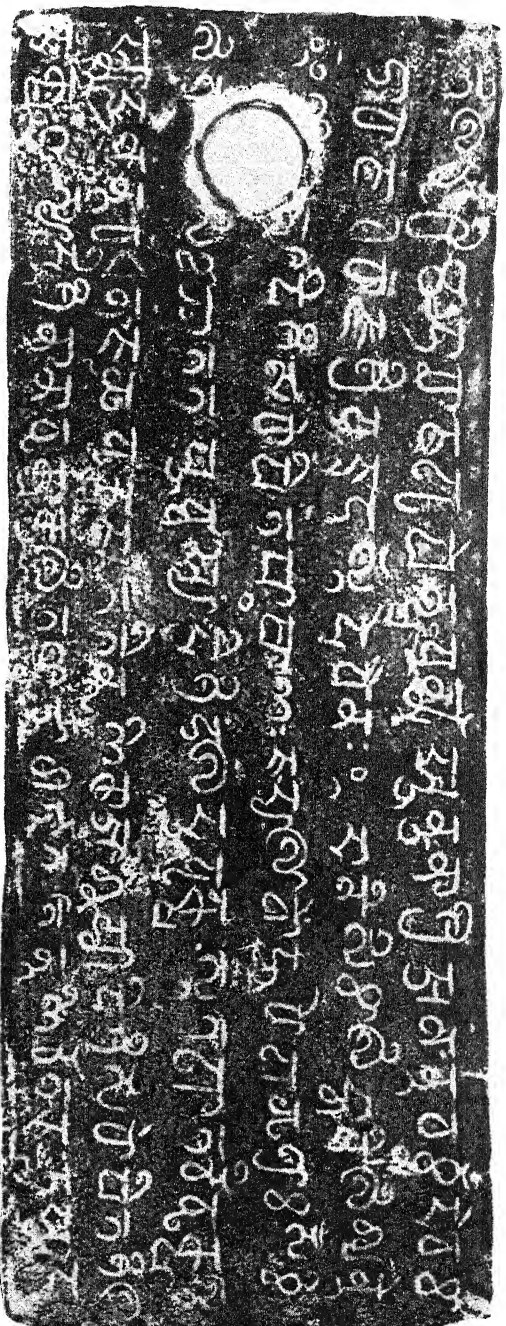
II Plate 1st side.



CHIPPURAPALLI COPPER PLATE



II Plate 2nd side.



CHIPURAPALLI COPPER PLATE

III Plate 1st side.



CHIPPURAPALLI COPPER PLATE

TEXT

1st Plate ; 2nd Side

- १। स्वस्त्यमरपुरानुकारिण (:) सर्वर्तु सुख रमणीय (या) द्विजय
 २। वत कलिङ्गाद्य (ङ्ग) नगरा (धि) वासक (का) म (न्म) हेन्द्रा चलामलसि (शि) खर
 प्रति-
 ३। छित्तस्य सचर (रा) (चर) गुरो (:) सकल भुवन निर्माणैक सूत्रधारस्य
 ४। शशाङ्क चु (चू) डामणि (णे) व (र्भ) गवतो गोकर्ण स्वामिन श्र्वरण कमल युगल प्र-
 ५। णामाद्विगत कलि कलङ्को (ऽ) नेकाहव स (') क्षोभजा (ज) नित जय शब्द (:))

2nd Plate ; 1st Side

- ६। प्रतापावनत समस्त सामन्त चक्र चूडामणि प्रभा मञ्जरी
 ७। पुञ्ज रञ्जित वर चरण (:) सित कुमुद कूर् (कु) न्दे द्वा (द्व) वदात दिग्देशविनि
 ८। गत यश (:) (स) परम माहेश्वरो माता पितृ पादानुध्यातो ध्वस्ता-
 ९। राति कुलाचलो नय विनय दया दान दाक्षिण्यः शौयौ दाट्यं
 १०। सत्य त्यागादि गुण संपदाधारभूतो गङ्गामल कुल

2nd Plate ; 2nd Side

- ११। तिलक श्रीमा (म) हाराज भूपेन्द्रवर्म सूनना श्री अनन्तवर्म देव म-
 १२। हाराजाधिराज श्री वज्रहस्त देवेन ईदानी सीमा लिङ्गानि लिख्यन्ते (ते)
 १३। ईशान्या दिशि सरोपित पाषाणः जङ्घाला भोङ्खारोभय ग्राम संमि (सम्मि)-
 १४। लित सोमाया ततः पूर्वस्या दिशि हलदु वृक्षः स्त (त) त (:) भा (धा) तकी वृक्ष स्त
 १५। स्मादनन्तरं धनञ्जय वृक्ष स्तत (:) तोन्तुणोका आग्नया दिशि सरोपित शोला
 १६। दक्षिणस्या दिशि नाना वृक्षाकुलित था (ग ?) र्त्ता (त) तः तिन्निणिगातरः तस्माद-

3rd Plate ; 1st Side

- १७। प्यनन्तर (') वाल्मीक स्ततो निम्ब वृक्ष स्तस्मादनन्तरं पुन स्तिन्तुणिकैव त-
 १८। तो (स्मा) दनन्तरमेवाङ्कोलमूलं दिशि नैरुत्य दिशि रोपित प (पा) पाणः
 पश्चिमस्या दि (शि)
 १९। वाल्मीकः स्त (त) स्मादनन्तरं तिमिर निम्बो पश्चिम दिशाश्च तावेव (?) रो (वा)
 यव्या दिशि उ-
 २०। भय ग्राम संमि (म्मि) लित सीमा शृत्याराज (?) शासा (स) नारोपित शोलैव
 उत (त्त) र स्या दिशि वि-
 २१। श (ष ?) वृक्षः तस्मा (त्) धनञ्जय । वाल्मीक । हलदु तिन्तुकः उभय ग्राम मार्गत
 स्तटाका सहितौ भूमिः ग (गा)-
 २२। झण्य वंस (श) प्रवर्धमान विजय राज्ये (ज्य) सम्बत्सर ३८३ सम्बच्छ (त्स) रे
 कर (?) फाल्गुन प्रति आ-
 २३। ख (?) पाञ्च देहः^२ (?) महाव ग्राम गोत्रा नारायण सूनु नारायण जङ्घाला क्षेत्राय
 पालने धर्मसंस्तु सर्वदेवेना
 २४।

लिखित (॥)

Read "सचराचर"

- † The word "पाञ्च" denotes the number 'five' and "देह" one and half.
 It is not clear why these numbers have been mentioned here.

It records the grant of a village called Jadyala to one Narayana by Sri Anantavarmadeva Maharajadhiraja Sri Vajrahastadeva, son of Maharaja Bhupendravarman of the Ganga dynasty, issued from the city of Kalinga-Nagara, in the month of Phalguna, in the year "Gangavamsa-Pravrdhamana-Vijaya-rajya-Samavatsara" 383. The grant was announced by one Sarvadeva.

This grant is a very important document so far as the question relating to the chronology of the early Gangas of Kalinga and their family-era are concerned. In my paper on "the Ganga-era" (J.K.H.R.S. Vol.I, No.1. p. 29-50) I dealt with the question of this era of Kalinga in detail. My conclusion was that this 'Samvat' started from C. 626-7 A.D. As it happened to be a very important question relating to the history of Kalinga of the Mediaval period, I endeavour to reconsider the whole issue, basing on this valuable document. I call it valuable because the date incised in it by numerals is very clear and leaves no doubt in our mind about its correctness. It is definitely 383 Ganga-era. The second point is that it gives a clear idea as to how Anantavarma Vajrahasta was related to Bhupendravarma and his son Devendravarma. Thus, the complication which arose with regard to the identification of Vajrahasta, mentioned in the Ponduru plates as well as in the Parlakimedi plates (See App.I.nos. 10 and 11), now stands solved.

From the Chidivalasa plates (No. 14 App. I) we learn that Devendravarma (G.E.397)'s father was Bhupendravarma-Marasimha, and his grand-father was Vajjri, which must be an abbreviated form of the name of Vajrahasta. And from the present grant we understand that Bhupendravarma's son was Anantavarma-Vajrahasta, who lived in G.E.383. This Bhupendravarma had another son called Devendravarma, who was ruling the country in the G.E. 397.

Therefore, it goes without saying that Bhupendravarma Marasimha had two sons, namely Anantavarma

Vajrahasta and Devendravarma, who ascended the throne one after the other.

Only in two places in the tables No.1 and 2 of App. II we find that a Vajrahasta is shown as the grandson of another Vajrahasta. The first Vajrahasta ruled from A.D. 980-1015 and the second from A.D. 1038-70. One of them must be taken as the donor of the plates under review, when the Kadamba-Chieftain Udayakhedi lived; and when the 383rd year of the Ganga era*, provided the Early-Gangas of Kalinga (beginning from Indravarma and Hastivarma down to Anantavarma Vajrahasra and Devendravarma) are to be accommodated in the genealogical tables found in the inscriptions of Vajrahasta, discovered from Ganjam¹, Nadagam², Narsapatam³, Bodapadu⁴, Chokkavalasa,⁵ etc. places in the districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam. The Kadamba-Chief Udayakhedi or Udayaditya, whose name is mentioned in the Parlakimedi plates of Vajrahastadeva (No.11 AppI), appears as the donor of the Kambhakaya-plates (No. 16. App.I), incised in "Sakabda Sahasram-eka-Sata-traya-dhika" which means literally SS 1103 or A.D. 1181. As this date seems quite absurd owing to several other factors it has been rejected by scholars, who tried to correct the above passage. Any way, if it is to be accepted as ss.1003 (A.D.1081), then occurs a clear difference of one hundred years between Udayaditya and the former Vajrahasta, whose rule commenced from A.D.980. Hence, it is quite improbable to say that both of them were contemporaries. Eventually one should be inclined to look upon the other Vajrahasta (A.D.1030-76) as the overlord of Udayakhedi of our plates.

1 Ep. Ind. XXIII, R ;

2 Ibid. Vol. IV., p. 186 ;

3 Ibid. Vol. XI., p. 147 ;

4 Bharati (Tal. Journal, Mad), Vol. III. p. 82-94 ;

5 Ibid. Vol. II. p. 138-55 ;

If the Gangas of the table No.1 & 2 of App.II are to be taken as the same persons found in the tables No.3 and 4 of App.II, then the only option left for us is to identify Madhu-Kamarnava of the Chicacole plates (No.9 App.I) with either Kamarnava, whose duration of rule did not exceed six months, or his younger brother Madhu-Kamarnava (A.D.1019-1038 ruler No.7 and 9 of the table No.1 of App.II). Nowhere in this pedigree we find that the former had two sons named Anantavarma Vajrahasta and Davendravarma. On the other hand, his brother Madhu-Kamarnava had a son called Vajrahasta, although there is no indication about the existence of his second son, Devendravarma.

If, therefore, this Vajrahasta (A.D.1038-70) is to be taken as the donor of the present grant (G.E.383), then we have to search for the starting point of this era somewhere between 655 and 687 A.D. But this proposition is not fully supported by some other important factors, which I will discuss later on.

Dharmakhedi, grandfather of UdayaKhedi, is evidently the same person who issued the Simhapura plates (No.3. App.I) in the "Ganga-Kadamba-Vansa -Pravardhamana Vijayajya Samvatsara" 520. He was a contemporary chieftain and also the natural uncle of Anantavaram (Vajrahasta), who, according to the Mandasa plates (No.8 App. 1), was living in Saka "Nava Sataka-sapta-rasa-mita" or ss 900 pluss "sapta-rasamita", a phrase which is not clear. **

Any way, the hundreds place of the date is genuinely correct, and it is 900 Sakabda. So, this grant must have been issued some time after A.D. 978, when Anantavarma and Dharmakhedi both were living. It is therefore, clear that the 'Ganga-Kadamba era' and the "Ganga era" are not one and the same Samvat as it has been supposed by scholars, in as much as Dharmakhedi could not have lived in the 6th. Century while his grand son-Udayakhedi lived in the 4th. Century of the same era.

* Dr. D. C. Sircar offers an intelligent suggestion for the word "Saptarasa." His theory is that "Saptarasa" is a prakrit mixed form for 'Sapta-dasa'-17. So, according to his theory it is Saka 917 (J. K. H. R. S., Vol. I., P. 219).

In the Chicacole plates we find that Madhu Kamarnava used the same G.K. Era, only about six years after the issue of the Simhapur plates of Dharma Khedi. But, as it was under the eulogy of "Ganga Vansa Pravardhamna-Vijaya-Rajya-Samvatsare" it confused the whole issue, and led scholars in wrong direction. As a matter of fact, the date of the above plates should be determined as "Ganga-kadamba-era" although the word "Kadamba" was not found in it. The 'Ganga-era' which was used in Kalinga for about four hundred years without interruption, gradually became extinct towards the beginning of the 11th. century A.D. The last known grant in which this era was used is the Chidivalasa plates of G.E. 397 (No. 14. App.I.). During this period i.e. towards the close of the 4th Century G.E. some different "Sambats", namely the 'Ganga-kadamba Samvat' and the 'Saka Samvat', were introduced. Finally the latter was exclusively adopted and retained till the last date of the Ganga rule. Indeed the 'Ganga-era' and the 'Ganga-Kadamba-era' were completely given up during the time of Vajrahastadeva in the first half of the 11th. century A. D. For occurrence of such great change in the Political history of Kalinga the cause should be ascertained from some hard and revolutionary catastrophies that took place in Kalinga. I will discuss this aspect in the ensuing paragraphs.

The Ponduru plates of Vajrahasta (No. 10 App.I) is alleged to have been incised in the Ganga era 500 by Dr. D.C. Sircar (Vide J.K.H.R.S., Vol.I. No.3.,p 219-21). There exists a great difference of opinion about the date of this grant, since Mr. G.Narasimham read it as G.E. 100¹ and Mr. G.Ramdas as 700² Dr. Sircar says that just a glance at the estampage convinced him fully that the reading of the year in the passage, containing the date, was beyond doubt 500. Previous to his reading my friend Mr. M.Somasekhara Sarma of Guntoor read it as 5002.³ Basing upon this theory Dr. Sircar concludes that "the Ganga era

(1) J. A. M. R. S., Vol. IX., 23 ff.

(2) Ibid. XI. p. 7—12.

(3) I. C. Vol. IX. p. 143.

500 falls in the regnal period of Anantavarman Vajrahasta IV, i.e., in C. 982-1016 A.D." and therefore he thinks that the beginning of the era corresponds to a date in the period C.482-516 A.D. This, he says, was further supported by the fact that the Santa-Bommali¹ (?) grant of the Ganga year 520 belonging to the Kadamba-Chief Dharmakhedi, son of Bhimakhedi and feudatory of Anantavarma's son Devendravarma, and the Chicacol grant of the Ganga year 526 belonging to Anantavarma's son Madhukamarnava were apparently issued during the rule of the sons of King Anantavarma Vajrahasta IV (Vide J.K.H.S. Vol.I.No.3., pp 210-20.)

We have already pointed out the absurdity of such conclusions since Udayakhedi, who lived in the G.E. 383, happens to be the grandson of Dharmakhedi, who lived some time after A. D. 978. Is it probable to place the grand-father about 120 years after his grandson? How can we say then that Dharmakhedi was living in the G. E. 500 or 520 when his grandson Udayakhedi was living in the same era 383? Therefore, if at all Dr. Sircar's reading of the date of Ponduru plates is correct that cannot be accepted as the 'Ganga-Samvat,' although the usual epithet "गंगान्वय प्रवर्द्धमान विजय राज्य" was attached to it.

It is however strange to note that this is the only document out of the sixteen, shown in our App. I, which records the name of Dantipura, while the rest mention the name of Kalinganagara as the seat of administration. The Narsapatam plates of Vajrahasta of ss 967 (A.D. 1945) however mentions the name of Dantipura (E. P. Ind. Vol. XI P. 147); but the donor has not used the Ganga era in it. My point is that those rulers who were in habit of using their own family 'Samvat' have never mentioned Dantipura as their royal seat, except that in the Ponduru plates.

Considering all the above points, I am not convinced about the conjecture of Dr. Sircar, who, basing on the Ponduru plates and thinking its date to be 500 G. E., puts the beginning year of the Ganga-Samvat in C. 497-8 A. D. (J. K. H. R. S. Vol. I. P. 220).

(1) It must be the Singhapur grant.

If Anantavarma, the donor of the Simicharapa grant of G. E. 358 (No. 7 of App. I.), be taken as the same king Maharaja Anantavarma Vajrahasta of G. E. 383 (No. 12, App. I), and allowing that the former grant was made in the first regnal year of Vajrahasta (No. 10 ruler of table 1 of App. II), we arrive at the conclusion that the Ganga year 358 falls in 1038 A. D. and the latter grant in 1063 A. D. Accordingly, the beginning of the Ganga Era should have been somewhere near 680 A. D., which was also not supported in accordance with the following astronomical findings :—

The Chicacole grant of Indravarma, son of Gunarnava, was made on the auspicious occasion of the lunar eclipse in the 128th year of the Ganga Era, in the month of Margashirsha (Vide Ind. Ant. Vol. X. P. 243-4 and Ibid Vol. XIII P. 119-24). And the Tekkali plates of Devendravarma, son of Gunarnava, was made on the occasion of another lunar eclipse, which occurred in the month of Magha, in the Ganga Era 192 (Vide. Ind. Hist. Qr. Vol. XI P. 300-3). So within an interval of 63 or 64 years there occurred two lunar eclipses, the first being in the Margashirsha-Purnami and the 2nd in the Magha-Purnami. If, as stated above, the Ganga year would have started in A.D. 680, then the Margashirsha-eclipse would fall in A.D. 808 and the Magha eclipse in A. D. 872. But it did not happen so in each case. Hence, we have to give up 680 A. D. as the starting-date of Ganga Era, as well as the idea that the Vajrahasta of G. E. 383 of our present grant, is the same ruler (No. 10) as found in the table No. 1, App. II.

We have already stated that the donor of the Chipurupalli grant should be either Vajrahasta II (A.D.980-1015) or Vajrahastata III (A.D.1038-1070) of the table No.1 App. II, if this table and the Table No.3 had to be accepted as one and the same. Now, according to the above astronomical test, Vajrahasta III cannot be taken as the ruler of the same name, who lived in G.E.383. Therefore, we have necessarily to look upon the other ruler Vajrahasta II for precise determination of our test.

It is not out of place to mention here that in my

pervious article on "the Ganga era" (vide J.H.K.R.S. Vol.I. No.1 p.29-50) I arrived at the conclusion that this era of Kalinga started from C. 626-27 A.D. Let us now apply this test so as to find out the correctness of the same. According to my calculation the year 128 G.E. would fall in A.D. 754 when there was a lunar eclipse in the month of Margasirsha, and the year 192 G.E. would fall in A.D. 818, when there was lunar eclipse in the month of Magha. Both the dates go in favour of this calculation when compared with the list of eclipses worked out by Mr. Sewell.*

According to this calculation the Ganga Era 383 of our present grant must be equal to A.D. 1009. And this date happens to be the 29th. regnal year of Vajrahasta II of the table No.1 of App.II.

Now, the question is why and under what circumstances the auspicious era of the Gangas of Kalinga, which was in vogue for a long period of 400 years, was abolished in the beginning of the 11th. Century A.D. Introduction of this era indicates the overlordship of the Gangas over a vast territory. Even today we find that some Zamindars of Orissa, who belong to this ancient family, observe the Ank-day and perform the 'minting-ceremony' in the month of Asvina (Dasahara). This system, I presume, was prevalent in the country since a very remote time, probably, ever since the Gangas established their sway in Kalinga-the day when the first year of the Ganga Era was counted. So, we find that the epithet "Vijaya-rajya" which was probably started from "Vijaya-Dasami"- the 10th. day of the bright half of the month of Asvina. Probably the continuation of this "Ceremony" became intermittent on account of some foreign interference which, I suppose, must have taken place during the reigning period of Kamarnava-Bhupendravarma, to whom we have already identified with Kamarnava I (A.D.943-975), the ruler No.4 of the table No. 1 App.II. There are evidences to prove that he was entangled with political matters relating to the kingdoms of Vengi on one side and Rastrakuta and Dakshina-Kosala on the other.

* Sewell's Eclipses of the moon in India.

Kalinga being situated in a strategical locality in relation to the above mentioned kingdoms, it was automatically involved in the foreign affairs, when these countries were perturbed by disturbances.

In the middle of the 10th century A.D. the Rastrakutas rose into power under the valiant king Krishna III. With great aggressiveness he conquered the territories of Kanchi and Tondai Mandalam of the Chola kingdom*. Then he turned towards Vengi and Kalinga. His movements in the Deccan progressed due to the support he received from Birtunga, the powerful ruler of the Western Ganga family. Birtunga married the sister of Krishna, and therefore, his alliance helped Krishna to extend his sway as far south as the N.Arcot District in Madras. As a prince Krishna's activities in the north were in the Chedi Kingdom although he had matrimonial alliance with the rulers of that country. He occupied the fortress Kalanjar at the foot of the Vindhya mountains and Chitrakuta belonging to Chandilas. In the later part of his reign he dealt with the affairs of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi and the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga.† His conquest in lightning speed created a great agitation in all the principalities which were subjected to his aggression. Although he died in A.D.968, the political repercussions did not die in the Deccan. ‡

Hostility between the Rastrakutas and Kalinga seems to have started long before Kamarnava Bhupendravarma came to the throne. In this connection the Chicacole plates of Anantavarma* furnishes a piece of information as quoted below :-

“कण्टकवर्त्तिनो विषय राष्ट्रकूटान् राज करणादिकादेश

* Karhad plates of Krishna III, Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 278.

† J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VIII, p. 188—90. ff.

‡ Most probably he occupied the Sambalpur district and established a branch of the Rastrakuta dynasty there. Recently a set of copper plate inscription of Chamara Vighraha of that dynasty was discovered from Barharh area.

* J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VIII., p. 188—90. ff.

* Ep. Ind., Vol. V., p. 181.

वास्तव्यादीन् जनपदा (न्) सर्वान् समाज्ञापयति....
द्विषिपदि....."

Anantavarma, the donor of this grant, is undoubtedly the 5th. king of our table No.3 App.II, and he was the father of Kamaranava Bhupendrarvarman. The royal 'Prasasti' which he adopted in this inscription is exactly the same as found in the Satyavarma's inscription (see App. IV, No.I). This inscription was not correctly deciphered by Dr. C.Narayanrao and Prof. R.Subbarao, as was pointed out by Dr. B.Ch.Chhabra (Ep.Ind.Vol. XXIII, p.75-F.N.). I read this inscription with the help of the litho-print, and understood that Maharaja Anantavarman granted a village in the district of Kantaka-Vartini, situated on the borders of the Rastrakuta kingdom, that belonged to his foe, as the phrase "द्विषिपदि" requires proper explanation in order to illustrate the passage quoted above.

Since the advent of the 10th. century A.D. the E.Chalukyas of Vengi seems to have used Kalinga as a place of their shelter in times of danger. The Ganga alliance must have induced them to run towards Kalinga when any foreign conquest threatened their own place. But the writers of the Chalukyan Prasasti, in the later days, depicted these events in such a manner as induced scholars to make wrong interpretations by presuming that the E.Chalukyas actually brought a portion of Kalinga to subjugation. But actually it was not so, because they were in the habit of utilising the dense forest-tracts of "Tri-Kalinga" as their hiding place. It can be well imagined that he who comes with humility for safety of life is, by nature, not audacious to conquer the place of his shelter by appliance of force and arm. The E.Chalukyas could not have violated this natural rule. From the Masaulipatam plates of Amma I*(A.D.918-25) we learn that he ruled over a portion of the forests of Tri Kalinga (त्रिकलिगाद्वी). In the Kolavennu grant of Chalukya Bhima II (A.D. 925) it is stated that he ruled over the country of Tri Kalinga'. All these are nothing but allegorical expressions of the Chalukyan Court-Poets.

Kamarnava I, as per table No.1. App.II., came to the throne of Kalinga in A.D.943 and ruled for 35 years,
 * E. P. Ind., Vol. V, p. 131.

Then his brother Vinayaditya held the throne for three years only. After him came Vijarahasta, son of Kamarnava, in A.D.980, and ruled for 35 years.

During the time of Kamarnava alias Bhupendravarma great political unrest prevailed in the neighbouring tracts of Vengi owing to the Rastrakuta interference. It is Amma II (A.D.945-70) of the E. Chalukya dyanasty who fought with great vigour against the Rastrakuta king Krishna III. In his inscription it is stated that in the 12th. regnal year i.e. in A.D. 947 he proceeded to Kalinga by appointing his brother Danarnava as the regent of Vengi*. It is further stated that he waged war against Krishna III. Most probably Amma was supported by Kamarnava. Otherwise why should he proceed towards Kalinga to check the Rastrakuta inroad? Probably this time Krishna III led a big expedition against Kalinga and Vengi by creating some internal troubles in the Chalukyan territory. In the Arumbaka plates of Badapa[†] it is mentioned that Amma II at first ruled over Vengi with Tri Kalinga, but later on proceeded to Kalinga where he lived for long 14 years i.e. from A.D. 956 to 970. But in the Mangolu grant it is stated that Amma's brother Danarnava actually ruled over Kalinga after A.D.970 when he lost the throne of Vengi.* Careful examination of these events will prove that both Amma and his brother Danarnava took shelter in Kalinga from 957 to 973 A.D. under the protection of the Ganga suzerainty. What induced Kamarnava to take this risky step can be elicited from the then adopted foreign policy of Kalinga.

In the year 970 A.D. Amma II died and Danarnava came to the throne of Vengi. But, his rule did not exceed three years. One Badapa, a collateral aspirant to the Chalukyan throne, revolted with the help of Jatachola Bhima of the South, who not only killed Danarnava but also boasted

* C. P. No. 15. of Mad. 1916—17 ; A. R. M. E., 1917—18 , App. A., No. 1 G. O. No. 1085 (Home) 10-8-1917 p. 8.

§ Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 137.

† An-Rep. on Ep. 1917, p. 132 ; Ind. Hist. Qr. Vol., XI., p. 43.

of slaying Kamarnava and his brother Vinayaditya of Kalinga, according to his Conjeeveram inscription.† The broken passage of that inscription runs thus :-

“चित्रं सुदूरमपि चारु कु—U मन्तं
कामार्णव न्दिवमन्ति UU—U— भूत्।
व्यक्तं व्यसिस्म पत—त्स्वति वैपरीत्या
कामार्णवं भुवि नयन् UU—U— — ॥
.....त् विनया दन्य(दित्य) भूपतेः।
....स श्रीमान् जटाचोल भीम नृपतिः....

(vide lines 28, 29, 30 and 31 of the Conjeeveram inscription)

It is said that Jata Chola Bhima after killing Nrupa-Kama and Danarnava of Vengi in A.D. 973-4 led an expedition over Kalinga, although it was too distant a place from his own kingdom.

We have already stated that Kamarnava I ruled upto A. D. 978. So, there are about three years difference between the death-years of Danarnava of Vengi and Kamarnava of Kalinga. Probably during this time Jata Chola made a huge preparation to wage war against a powerful kingdom like Kalinga.

Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer, while editing the Conjeeveram inscription, wrongly says that this achievement of Jata Chola was on Madhu-Kamarnava (A.D. 1019—38), the 9th ruler of table No.1 App. II. Mr. B. V. Krishnarao, while re-editing this inscription, has correctly identified Kamarnava, whose name is mentioned in that record. According to him it is Kamarnava I. (A. D. 943—78) who suffered defeat in the hands of Jata Chola*.

Presumably during this period of political manoeuvre the “minting ceremony”—the long standing royal insignia of Kalinga was given up, although it was used intermittently till the first or second decades of the 11th century A.D. The last known ‘Ganga Era’ was incised in the 397th year in the Chidivalsa grant (No. App. I.) Therefore, it is quite improbable to say that the ‘Ganga-Samvat’ and the Ganga-Kadamba-Samvat” are one and the same. This wrong assumption led scholars to gross mistakes which mistified the whole issue. After the discovery of the present plates

† Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI., p. 29—34 ; J. A. H. R. S., Vol. X., p. 17—60.
* J. A. H. R. S., Vol. X., p. 35.

I had to reconsider some of my view-points, already expressed in the paper on "Ganga Era."

In view of the above concatenation one should believe that the imperial power of the Gangas was considerably reduced on or about A. D. 980, soon after the death of Kamarnava-Bhupendra Varma and his brother Vinayaditya, I presume that Ananta-Varma Vajrahasta was a mere minor or at least of immature age by the time he assumed the reins of administration.

Taking advantage of the weakness prevailing in Kalinga a portion of the kingdom known as "Tri-Kalinga" was captured by the Somavamsi kings Dakshina-Kosala of whom Mahabhavagupta Janamejaya and Mahasivagupta Yayati used the dignified title of "TriKalingadhipati". Some Chedi and Kalachuri rulers of Ratnapur of the Central Provinces have also decorated their names with this title. All these must have happened till Maharaja Vajrahasta (A. D. 1038—1070) came to the throne of Kalinga. He revived all the past glories and magnanimity of his family except the auspicious Samvat, which by that time had become completely extinct and a forgotten affair.

Before conclusion, I venture to deal with the question of chronology of the early Gangas so far as its later part is concerned.

While reporting on the Mandasa plates of Rajendrarman of G. E. 342 the Government Epigraphist (Madras) remarked that "the plates record the grant of a village by Rajendravarman, son of Maharaja Anantavarman of the Ganga family. The charters of the inscription resembles a good deal those of the Almanda plates of the time of the king Anantavarma (Ep. Ind. III. P. 17). The charters of these inscriptions belong to the 9th century A. D. The donee's name is not quite clear. The son (whose name is not quite distinct in the plates) of a Sarva Aya-Kamadi is mentioned. A certain Chola Kamadi Raja appears in the grant of Vajrahasta (E. I. III. P. 221) as the actual donor. It is difficult to determine from the bad condition of the letters here whether the Kamadi of our inscription

was also the donor as in the other case. Rajendravarman, son of Maharaja Anantavarman, in whose reign the grant was issued, is not known from a large number of other records. Combining the genealogy of Anantavarman, son of Rajendravarman, whose grant referred to was dated in the 30th year of the Ganga Era with that of the inscription dated in the 342nd year of the same era, we get three successive generations of the dynasty *Viz.* Maharaja Rajendravarman, his son Anantavarman (304th year) and his son Maharaja Rajendravarman (342nd year).

Palaeographically these grants resemble the two of Devendravarman—one dated in the 254th year evidently of the Ganga-era (I. A. XVIII, P. 144) and the other (I.A. XIII. P. 275) which purports evidently by clerical mistake to be dated in the 51st year of this era and the grant of Satyavarman dated in the 351st year of this era (I. A. XIV. P. II). These records read together would give us a list of kings thus :—

- (1) Anantavarman,
- (2) his son Devendravarman (25th year)*
- (3) Maharaja Devendravarman, and
- (4) his son Satyavarman (351st year)"

(*Vide* Madras Epigraphic Report for the year 1918, P. 137. G. O. (Mad) No. 1172, Sept. 1918).

The Government Epigraphist in the year 1935—36 while recording the Tekkali plates of Anantavarman G. E. 358 remarked that "from the different wording and the script adopted and also from the definitely worded date of the record, it may be assigned to the period to which the Chicacole plates of Satyavarman, son of Devendravarman, dated in the G. E. 351 belongs. (E. I. V.) Our record in the G. E. 35 would come seven years after Satyavarman's grant and it is reasonable to infer that Anantavarman, the king of the present record, who was also a son of Maharaja

* It must be 254th year because Dharma-Khedi's name is mentioned in this record.

Devendravarman, was a younger brother of Satyavarman.
The genealogy then tentatively stands thus :—

Devendravarman

Satyavarman
(G. E. 351)

Anantavarman
(G. E. 358)

We have already got a line of kings for the period immediately preceding Satyavarman noticed in the table on page 137 of the Ep. Rep. for 1918.

Maharaja Rajendravarman I.

Anantavarman G. E. 304.

Rajendravarman II. G. E. 342.

Provisionally assuming that Rajendravarman I was the son of the doner of the Chicacole plates of the Ganga era 51 (*Vide* Keilhorns's Northern List No. 682) which on palaeographical and genealogical grounds would be assigned to the 251st year (See also Bhandarkar's list of Northern Inscriptions, No. 1480) and consequently identify its king with the Devendravarman of the 254th year of the Ganga era (*Ibid* No. 681), and for similar reasons also assuming that Devendravarman, the father of Satyavarman of the 304th year the genealogy for the kings may provisionally be constructed as given below :—

1. Gunarnava.

2. Devendravarman (G. E. 183, 184)

3. Anantavarman (G. E. 204)

4. Devendravarman (G. E. 251, 254)

5. Rajendravarman.

6. Anantavarman

7. Devendravarman
(G. E. 308, 310)

8. Rajendravarman (G. E. 342)

9. Satyavarman
(G. E. 351)

10. Anantavarman
(G. E. 358)

(*Vide* An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy for the year 1935—36, P. 59—60)

Thus the Government Epigraphist endeavoured to give a correct genealogy of the Gangas from Gunarnava onwards. As there are some discrepancies found in the above genealogy, I request my readers to refer to the table No. 4, App. II which has been prepared basing on nearly forty copper plate inscriptions. According to our table, 21 kings in the early Ganga dynasty ruled in Kalinga between G. E. 39 to 397 *i.e.* 358 years, each having a period of rule extending to 17 years in average.

The Government Epigraphist's mistakes seem to have been due to the mistakes of the engraver of the inscription of Devendravarman of G. E. 51, who wrongly puts this date instead of 351 (No. 4 App. I). So also the writer of the inscription of Devendravarman of G. E. 254 has wrongly put this for G. E. 354.

Dr. Fleet, while editing the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman, made an attempt to correct the errors committed by the engraver, who put its date as "ekapanchasat" *i.e.* 51. Dr. Fleet said that "the date of this grant must be 251 G. E." But it ought to have been corrected as 351 G. E., in as much as the name of Sarvadeva, who was an officer under the Gangas, is mentioned in this grant. And the same officer's name is also found in the Chidivalsa grant of 379 G. E. and also in our Chipurupalli plates of 383 G. E. (See App. I.) He served under the Gangas for at least 47 years. As Dr. Fleet had no opportunity to verify the name of Sarvadeva since the last two grants were not brought to light by the time he edited the Chicacole grant of Devendravarman, his improvised conclusion in this respect is excusable. But this mistake has been maintained uptil now, having been overlooked by all the scholars dealing with the subject.

Similar to this another mistake is found with regard to Vizagapatam plates of Anantavarman, son of Devendravarman (No. 6. App. I.), in which the date is put as "Sata dvayi Chatus-Panchasa dyadhike" 254. Dr. Fleet's reading

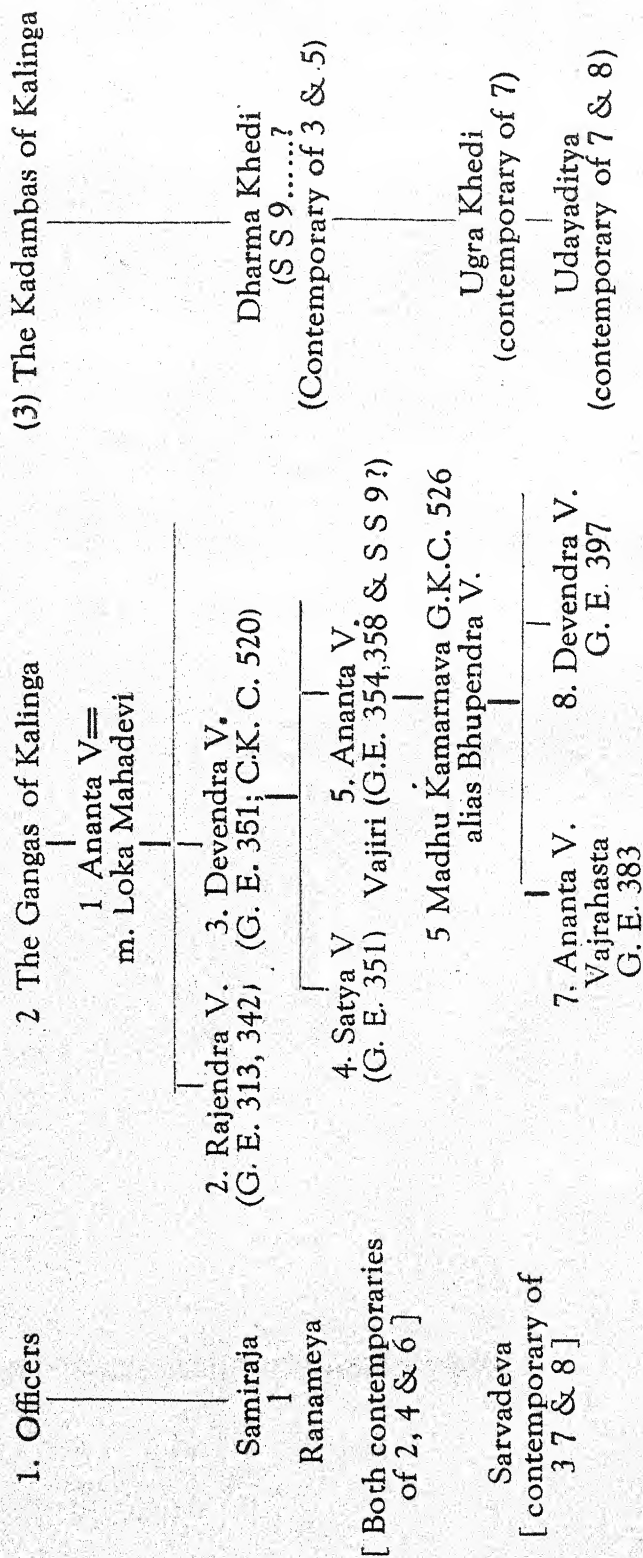
APPENDIX I.

Statement of Epigraphic documents of the 4th Century Ganga-era

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
|-----|-------------------------------------|---|---|--|------------------------|------------|--------------------|---------------|--|--|
| No. | Name of grant. | Authority. | Name of the Kings of the Ganga dynasty. | Name of the rulers of the Kadamva dynasty. | Capital of the Gangas. | Ganga-era. | Ganga-Kadamva era. | Saka-era. | Name of writers or officers of interest. | Remarks on the dates. |
| 1 | Padali Gr. ... | Unpublished (Examined by me.) | Ananta V. = Loka Mahadevi Yuvaraja-Rajendra V. | ... | Kalinga-nagara... | 313 | ... | ... | Samiraja. | |
| 2 | Mandasa Plts ... | J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XI P. 101. | Ananta V. Rajendra V. | ... | Kalinga-nagara... | 342 | ... | ... | Samiraja. Ranameya. | |
| 3 | Simhapur Plts ... | J. A. H. R. S., Vol. Pp. 171. | Ananta V. Devendra V. | Niyarnava ... Bhimakhedi Dharmakhedi | Do. ... | ... | 520 | ... | | |
| 4 | Chicacole Plts ... | Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII, P. 273-6. | Ananta V. Devendra V. | ... | Do. ... | [3]51 | ... | ... | Sarvadeva ... | Dr. Fleet corrected this as 251 G. E. But it is to be corrected as 251. It is written as :— “प्रवर्द्धमान सम्वत्सर मेक पञ्चाशति । |
| 5 | Do. ... | Ibid, Vol. XIV, Pp. 10—12 | Devendra V. Satya V. | ... | Do. ... | [3]51 | ... | ... | Sarvadeva ... | The date of this insc. is written as :— “गङ्गावर्ष सम्वत्सर शतानां एक पञ्चाशन्” Dr. Fleet corrected this as G. E. 351. |
| 6 | Vizag Plts ... | Ibid Voi. XVIII, P. 143—6. | Devendra V. Ananta V. (King's maternal uncle.) | Dharmakhedhi | Do. ... | [3]54 | ... | ... | | The date is written as :— सम्वत्सर शतद्व (५१) ये चतुष्पञ्चाशत्सम्वत्सरे 254 (in numerals). |
| 7 | Tekkali Plts Simichampa Grant. | Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVI P. 174 and E. Rep. Mad. for 1935—36, Pp. 59 60. | Devendra V. Ananta V. | ... | Do. ... | 358 | ... | ... | | “Gangeyavanasa Pravarddhmana Vijaya Rajya Samvatsara Tri Satma Athabana Saha” (Oriya “अठवन” = 58. |
| 8 | Mandasa Plts ... | J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XII, Pp. 175—85. | Ananta | Bhimakhedi ... Dharmakhedi. | Do. ... | ... | ... | 9—(?) | | “Saka Nava-Sataka-Sapla-rasa-mita” (in under lined is doubtful.) |
| 9 | Chicacole Plts ... | J. A. H. R. S., Vol. VIII Pp. 168. 80 | Ananta Madhukamarnava | ... | Do. ... | ... | 526 | ... | Ranameya ... | |
| 10 | Ponduru Plts ... | Ibid, Vol. IX, P. 30 | Kamarnava | ... | Dantipura ... | (?) | (?) | (?) | | |
| 11 | Parlakimedi Plts ... | Ep. Ind, Vol. III, P. 221 | Vajrahasta | Ugrakhedi ... (?) Udayakhedi ... | Kalinganagara... | | | | | |
| 12 | Chipuru-Palli Plts (present.) | Present Gr. No. 2 | Bhupendra V. Vajrahasta Ananta, Varma. | ... | Do. ... | 383 | ... | ... | Sarvadeva. | |
| 13 | Napitabata gr. ... | Sahakar (Or. journal) Vol. XVIII, P. 392. | Bhupendra V. Devendra V. | ... | Kalinganagara. | | | | | |
| 14 | Chidivalasa Plts ... | J. A. H. R. S. | Vajri Marasimha Bhupendra V. Devendra V. | ... | Do. ... | 397 | ... | ... | Sarvadeva. | |
| 15 | Nirakarpur Plts (present gr.) | Present gr. No. 1 | Bhupendra V. Devendra V. | Dharmakhedi... Ugrakhedi Udayakhedi. | Do ... | | | | | |
| 16 | Kambakaya Plts ... | “Bharati” (Tel. journal), Nov. 1927. | Devendra V. | Dharmakhedi... (?) Udayaditya. | Do. ... | | | 1003 ? | | |
| 17 | Tekkali stone insc. of Padmachandra | Examined by me J. A. H. R. S., XI, Pp. 16—18. | Devendra V. | ... | | | | 1015 R. Y. 23 | | The Raja Bahadur of Tekkali, who edited this insc., has wrongly deciphered its date as SS 1012 instead of 1015. |

Table No- 3

Genealogical Table of the E. Gangas & E. Kadambas of Kalinga



COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTIONS

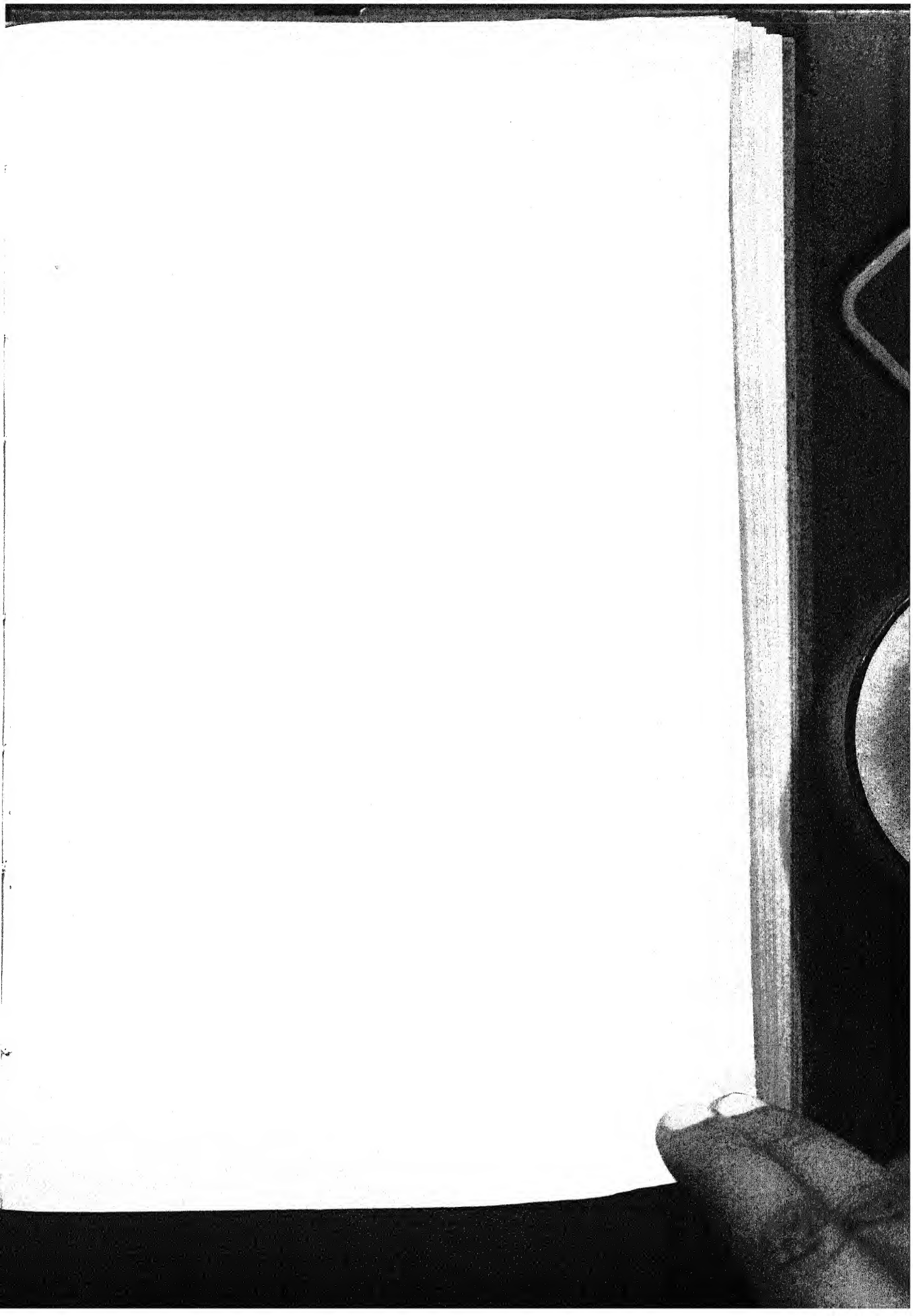
Geneology of the E. Gangas of Kalinga.

Table No. 4

1. Indra-varma I. 39 G. E.
Rajasmha I.
2. Hasti-varma Rajasimha II G. E. 79.30.87.
3. Indra-varma II Rajasimha III G. E. 36,87,91.
4. Danarnava
5. Indravarma IIIG.E.128,137,138,143,146,149,154,176
6. Gunarnava
7. Devendra-varma I G. E. 183, 184, 192, 193, 195.
8. Ananta-varma I G.E. 204
9. Jaya-varma
10. Nanda-varma C. E. 221
- 11.
12. Rajendra-varma I
13. Ananta-varma II G.E. 284, 304 Loka Mahadevi
14. Devendra-varma III G.E. 308,310
15. Rajendra-varma G. E. 313, 342
16. Devendra-varma IV G. E. 351. G. K. C. 502.
17. Satya-varma G.E. 351
18. Ananta-varma III Vajrahasta I. G.E. 354
19. Madhu Kamarnava alias Bhupendra-varma Marasimha G. kc 526.
20. Ananta-varma Vajrahasta I G. E. 383
21. Devendra-varma V G. E. 397.

APPENDIX III
(A) Polaeography.

| | अ | आ | इ | ई | उ | ऊ | ए | क | ख | ग | घ |
|-------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) Chandeswar Plates | | अ | इ | | उ | ऊ | ए | क | ख | ग | |
| (2) Chipurupalli Plates | अ | आ | इ | ई | उ | ऊ | | क | | ग | घ |
| | च | च | ज | ज | ज | ट | ठ | क | ण | ट | ड |
| (1) Chandeswar Plates | उ | उ | ऊ | | न | न | ० | उ | न | उ | व |
| (2) Chipurupalli Plates | उ | उ | ऊ | ऊ | र | | | उ | म | उ | व |
| | न | न | प | प | व | व | अ | अ | म | य | र |
| (1) Chandeswar Plates | अ | | प | | र | | ऊ | | | | र |
| (2) Chipurupalli Plates | क | क | प | प | र | र | ए | ग | ग | र | र |
| | र | र | व | व | श | स | स | ष | ह | | |
| (1) Chandeswar Plates | म | | व | व | अ | अ | | अ | | | |
| (2) Chipurupalli Plates | म | म | | | अ | अ | र | अ | ह | | |



(B) Comparative Study of Polaeography.

4th Century Ganga-era.

| | क | ख | ग | घ | ङ | च | छ | ज | झ | ञ | ट | ठ | ड | ढ | न | प | फ | ब | भ | म | य | र | ल | व | श | ष | स | ह |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Devendra V., son of Ananta V., G.E. [3] 51 I. A., XIII, P. 274-5 | क | ख | ग | घ | ङ | च | छ | ज | झ | ञ | ट | ठ | ड | ढ | न | प | फ | ब | भ | म | य | र | ल | व | श | ष | स | ह |
| Satyavarna, son of Devendra V., G. E. [3] 51 I. A. XIV, P. 10-12 | क | ख | ग | घ | ङ | च | छ | ज | झ | ञ | ट | ठ | ड | ढ | न | प | फ | ब | भ | म | य | र | ल | व | श | ष | स | ह |
| Ananta V., son of Devendra V., G. E. 254 (?) (G. E. 354, correct) I. A. XVIII, P. 143-6 | क | ख | ग | घ | ङ | च | छ | ज | झ | ञ | ट | ठ | ड | ढ | न | प | फ | ब | भ | म | य | र | ल | व | श | ष | स | ह |
| Chitacole Plates of Ananta V., son of Devendra V. (No date) J.A.H.R.S. VIII, P. 188 | क | ख | ग | घ | ङ | च | छ | ज | झ | ञ | ट | ठ | ड | ढ | न | प | फ | ब | भ | म | य | र | ल | व | श | ष | स | ह |
| Parlakimadi Plates of Vajrahasita (No date) Ep. Ind. IV P. 222-3 | क | ख | ग | घ | ङ | च | छ | ज | झ | ञ | ट | ठ | ड | ढ | न | प | फ | ब | भ | म | य | र | ल | व | श | ष | स | ह |
| Devendra V., son of Bhupendra V. (G. E. 397) I. A. H. R. S. | क | ख | ग | घ | ङ | च | छ | ज | झ | ञ | ट | ठ | ड | ढ | न | प | फ | ब | भ | म | य | र | ल | व | श | ष | स | ह |
| Korni Plates of Ananta V. Chodagangadeva (A. D. 1081) J. A. H. R. S. | क | ख | ग | घ | ङ | च | छ | ज | झ | ञ | ट | ठ | ड | ढ | न | प | फ | ब | भ | म | य | र | ल | व | श | ष | स | ह |

is no doubt quite correct. But, it appears that the writer of this inscription made a gross mistake here. Instead of "Satatrayi" it was put as "Satadvayi", thus enshrouding the Ganga-chronology in gloom. Dharmakhedi, the well-known figure among the Kadamba chiefs of Kalinga, appear in this grant as the maternal uncle of Anantavarma, son of Devendravarma of the Ganga family. The Mandasa plates of Dharmakhedi of Saka 900—'Sapta-rasa' mention the name of the same Anantavarma, the overlord of the Kadambas. The Simhapura plates of Dharmakhedi mentions the name of Devendravarma, son of Anantavarma in the "Ganga-Kadamba-Sambat" 520. Again, in our Nirakarpur plates we find that Dharmakhedi's grandson Udayakhedi was living in the time of Bhupendravarma's son Devendravarma, who, according to the Chidivalsa plates, was living in 397 G. E. From the trend of all these above mentioned records, it is not very difficult to infer that Dharmakhedi was living in the 354th year of the Ganga-era; but not in 254 G. E. as is accepted by scholars. So, accordingly, the correct genealogy of the Eastern Gangas can be accepted as given in our table N. 4 Appendix N. II.

ANNUAL REVIEW OF THE BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY, 1948-49.

(By the Hon'ble Mr. Justice B.P. Sinha)

My first pleasant duty is to thank your Excellency for kindly presiding over our function tonight in the midst of your Excellency's manifold engagements, administrative as well as cultural. Your profound scholarship in Indian lore and your constant solicitude for the cause of learning are widely appreciated by all and our Society is fortunate in having in your Excellency as its President a potent and an unfailing source of inspiration.

Our Honorary Secretary's short report regarding the work of the Society during the past twelve months has been already circulated. I would supplement it by additional details relating to all aspects of its activities. At the outset I allude to our Journal.

In printing the Journal we have to experience acute press and paper difficulties. The Patna Law Press, which had been printing it for the last few years, ceased to function some months back, and all our efforts to secure the services of a good Press in places like Allahabad and Calcutta proved to be of no avail. The same tale of handicaps under the present-day extraordinary circumstances was echoed from every quarter. At last a local Press has been persuaded to undertake the printing of the Journal, and we expect the standard of its work to be satisfactory.

In view of these unavoidable factors, we have combined the four numbers of our Journal into two issues, one for March-June and the other for September-December. At the beginning of the first issue appears the *Annual Review of our Society in 1947-48*. This is followed by Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Address* at the last Annual Meeting of our Society on "*Rajputana—the Death of the Old Order at the end of the 18th Century*", in the course of which the veteran and reflective historian significantly observed : "The history of the disintegration of the Mughal Empire at the close of the eighteenth century is a tale full of tragic pathos, but it is

no less rich in political instruction when we have the patience to read it aright. What is not so well-known is that this material and moral ruin affected the Hindu princes and people of Rajputana no less than the grandees and ryots of the Mughal provinces. The Rajputs represented the noblest elements of the Hindu character, and the saddest aspect of the fall of the Delhi Empire was, to my mind, the utter degradation of the chivalrous race and the hopeless misery of this land of Rajas". Next appears an article on '*Kacha Gupta and Rama Gupta*' by the renowned Bombay historian, Rev. H. Heras, S.J. The learned writer tries here to assign definite places to Kacha Gupta and Rama Gupta in Gupta history, on the basis of a few coins with regard to the former and literary evidence regarding the latter, though they are not mentioned in epigraphs. The third paper is a critical study by Dr. B.B. Mazumdar, Principal, H.D. Jain College, Arrah, of a manuscript containing '*Vidyapati's Padas*'. It was recently discovered at Rambhadrapur in the Darbhanga District by Pandit Vishnulal Shastri, a Patna University Research Assistant working under the guidance of Dr. K.K. Datta. The learned writer of this article justly points out the unique value of the Rambhadrapur manuscript and writes that "though many of its pages are missing and some are torn and mutilated and rendered indistinct, yet, this is the one old manuscript found up till now in the Indian Union which contains as many as 60 *padas* with the distinct *Bhanitas* of Vidyapati and five others which are also known to have been written by him." On the recommendation of Dr. K.K. Datta, the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University has been pleased to purchase it for the newly started Manuscript Section of the University Library for which scholars are thankful to him. The next paper contains an exhaustive study of three important epigraphs on copper plates discovered by Sri G. Ramdas of Jeypore (Koraput District, Orissa) in 1944 at Kesaribeda in Umerkot thana of that district. These inscriptions relate to Maharaja Arthapati Bhattaraka of the Nala family who, according to the writer, was ruling in Kosala in the middle of the 3rd century A.D. This is followed by a learned contribution on '*Law of Nations in Ancient India*' I by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice

V. Ramaswami of the Patna High Court, who observes on the authority of some original sources that the roots of international law are to be traced far back in India's past. After this appears a paper on '*The Antiquity of the Newars of Kathmandu*' by Prof. D.R. Regmi, M.A., D. Litt. of Benares, in which he tries to show that the Newars "existed as early as the sixth century B.C. and that they belonged to the confederacy of the Vrijji clans". Next we have a paper on '*The Evil Spirits of the Grihya-Sutras*' by Sri Alakh Niranjan Pande Shastri of Benares who has discussed in it what he understands to be the real significance in the conception of such evil spirits as they appear in the Grihya-Sutras, and concludes that the "fundamental idea about the evil beings is essentially spiritual and philosophical". After this comes a detailed and original article on '*The Family of Engineers who built the Tajmahal and the Delhi Fort*' by Dr. Syed Sulaiman Nadvi of Shibli Academy, Azamgarh. It is based on some old Persian sources. The next article contains important '*Epigraphic Notes*' by Sri Adris Banerjee, Curator, Nalanda Museum. He has studied in it some inscriptions throwing new light on monastic establishments at Nalanda. This is followed by a paper by Swami Prananda, F.R.G.S. of the Holy Kailas and Manasarovar on '*The old caves at Barari*', situated about four miles east of Bhagalpur. We have earlier references to these caves by Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century A.D., by Hamilton Buchanan in the early 19th century and by Alexander Cunningham. The present writer actually went to the spot and has thrown some new light on the caves. After this comes an article from the pen of Dr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar of Patna College on the economic importance of '*Patna and its environs in the 17th century*'. It presents to us an interesting and a detailed account of the varied manufactures, extensive trade, finance and exchange, etc. of this area on the authority of some contemporary sources. The last article in this issue is by Mahamahopadhyaya Bissheshwar Nath Reu of Jodhpur on '*Some Imperial Farmans addressed to Rathor Durgadas*' which the writer discovered in the possession of the descendants of that chivalrous Rathor chief. In Appendix to this issue we have

printed a portion of "*Dhira-Naishadham*", a Sanskrit drama written by late Mahamahopadhyaya Ramavatara Sarma, one of the versatile scholars of our country.

Our combined September-December issue also contains some original papers. There is one by Swami Pranavananda on '*The Site of the Royal University of Vikramasila*' which was one of the few cosmopolitan centres of learning that flourished in Bihar in ancient and early mediaeval times. Mr. T.G. Aravamutham of Madras has contributed a long and very interesting paper on '*Gods of Harappa* :. A portion of a critical *Catalogue of Miscellaneous Tibetan Xylograph Works*, preserved in our Library, prepared by Dr. S.C. Sarkar has been printed here. There appears a paper on '*The Malfazal and Maktubat of a 14th century Saint of Bihar*' by Prof. S.H. Askari of Patna College. It throws new light on some socio-cultural aspects of Bihar history in the mediaeval period. In an original paper in this issue Dr. B.P. Sinha of Patna College has critically discussed '*The bearing of Numismatics on the History of the Imperial Guptas*'. We have here also an original article by Dr. H.R. Ghosal, M.A., D.Litt. of G.B.B. College, Muzaffarpur, on some records relating to the '*East India Company's Efforts to check smuggling in Salt Trade in Bihar in the early 19th Century* :. The last article is on '*Shah Alam's Agony and Appeal*' by Dr. K.K. Datta of Patna College. It is based on some unpublished records of the National Archives of India, New Delhi, and discloses an extremely agonised phase in the tragic career of Shah Alam II. Another instalment of the Sanskrit drama '*Dhira-Naishadham*' appears in the Appendix of this issue.

Both the issues further contain exhaustive reviews of some valuable research publications.

The brief account presented by me would show that our journal has in it learned and original articles contributed not only by some scholars working in our Province but also by others from different parts of India. It has maintained its old standard and reputation in spite of numerous weighty handicaps in these days of stress.

Our financial resources have become too inadequate now to enable us to improve, as we desire, the quality of printing of our Journal and also to undertake some of the

most legitimate cultural activities in a province like that of ours which can justly look back with pride on a glorious past as a source of inspiration to march on correct lines in a period of much needed re-orientation of our outlook. While there is no doubt that immense material problems await solution for human welfare, we cannot afford to ignore the soul of man which has got to be supplied with due spiritual nourishment for attainment of perfection. Cultural renaissance and progress are indispensable prerequisites for national regeneration and growth of any country. At the parting of the ways today in human history, we must all be fully conscious of our responsibility in recovering our glorious cultural heritage, which had been tarnished for generations under some unwholesome influences.

For this the stock of varied collections in our Library must be much more replenished so that it develops as a splendid treasurehouse of information for researches. Suitable provision should also be made for quicker cataloguing and more effective utilisation of our valuable collections of Tibetan Manuscripts, particularly by the appointment of a Tibetan Research Scholar.

When the new age demands a new History of India to be written on correct rational lines, Bihar as the classic land of culture and civilisation age after age has a special responsibility on herself in this respect. We here must place at the disposal of our master architects, who contemplate refashioning our history, all these vast raw materials which lurk in abundance in secluded corners of this historic province in various forms, such as iconographs, epigraphs, coins, old historical and literary manuscripts in different languages and state as well as private documents. For all this, may I appeal to those who are in the respective capacities interested in the advancement of our national culture, to extend to our Society all possible co-operation and assistance, so that our much desired and much needed activities may produce fruitful results ?

Before I conclude this report I must take this opportunity of thanking Dr. S.C. Sarkar, Mr. Saiyid Ahsan Shere, and Dr. Tarapada Choudhury for their valuable work as Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian respectively and the

members of the Council for their ungrudging help to me. Lastly, I must express the gratitude of the Society to Dr. K.K. Datta, whose researches are well-known, for the great care and pains with which he has been editing the Journal of the Society.

A NOTE ON ABHIDHARMA-SAMUCCAYA
BHASYA AND ITS AUTHOR STHIRAMATI (?)'

By Prahlad Pradhan

This is a Rahula manuscript, photo of which was brought from Tibet by M.P. Rahula Sankirtyana in his second tour of 1939 and the negatives are deposited in the Library of the Bihar Research Society. The photo-prints of this Ms. are in the Album No. 12th, covering the pages 41—2 to 51—2 i.e. 21 pages in total. But some of the negatives are damaged and therefore prints of those duplicate negatives are in duplicate. For example, one negative marked 2A being cut slantingly on the right hand-side corner up is duplicated. Another negative marked 3B also similarly being cut and the folio No. 42b being omitted, are also duplicated and corrected. Further the negatives after 8A and 8B, the negatives are marked as 10A and 10B, but actually these should be 9A and 9B instead of 10A and 10B as these are in continuation of 8B. Thus the whole manuscript of 149 leaves is distributed in the photograph in 18 right negatives, the obverse being on 'A' and the reverse on 'B' being marked as 1A, 1B, 2A, 2B,.....etc. The folios are arranged on two columns on each page of the photograph generally containing 8 folios in each column i.e. 16 folios in each page with the exception that there is one extra folio middle below in each of 4A and 4B and another extra folio in the second column of 6A and 6B, i.e. 17 folios in each of these pages. There are 9 folios in each column of 8A and 8B, i.e. 18 folios on each, 9 folios in the first column and 10 folios in the second of each of 10A and 10B, i.e. 19 folios on each. But there is no page number on the leaf of the third folio of the second column of 4A and 4B and the leaves of the first and second folios of 7A and 7B, i.e. the 98th leaf is duplicated. Thus we are getting $9 \times 16 + 7 - 2 = 149$ leaves altogether distributed in these 18 negatives.

1 A note on Abhidharma Samuccaya is published in the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol, XXIV, June 1948, No, 2.

Together with 1A, 1B, etc the negatives are marked as अभि, स, टीका on the top of each page to indicate the name of the book, but I could not adjust the abbreviation with the name of the work, as the name of this work given in the report of Rahulaji is Abhidharma Samuccaya Bhasya. Had it been अभिध, स, टी, better अभिध, स, भाष्य it could have easily been equated. Does this 'स' stand for सांख्यविनिश्चय?

Rahulaji has given a descriptive report on these Mss. only from which we may know about the original size, the find-spot etc. He reports that the original Ms. is found in the Ngor monastery and further he says "the name of the book is सांख्यविनिश्चय from अभिधर्म समुच्चय T, author- (यशोमित्र), script-Magadhi, size- $11\frac{1}{8}$ — $2\frac{1}{8}$ ", leaves-149, lines on each page-6, and it is complete.(JB&ORS.Vol.XXI, 1935, Part i, P.35). But on the examination of the manuscript it appears from the colophon that the name of the 5th chapter only is Samkathya Viniscaya and the name of the whole book is Abhidharma-Samuccaya Bhasya and this is complete. The colophon runs thus :—

॥७॥ अभिधर्मसमुच्चये भाष्यत सांख्यविनिश्चयो नाम पञ्चमस्समुच्चयः

समाप्तः ॥७॥ लिखितमिदं पण्डितवैद्य श्री अमरचन्द्रेण जगद्बुद्धत्वसंपदे । इति ।

This is the only colophon and there is not any another sign or sentence to indicate the end of any other chapter though there are some sentences to indicate the end of topics such as समाप्तमानुषंगिकमतः परं मूलग्रन्थस्यार्थनिर्देशो दृष्टव्यः । (186), समाप्तः समनन्तरप्रत्ययप्रसंगः । [386] ॥ ७ ॥ समाप्तः आलम्बनप्रत्यये यथाग्रन्थं विनिश्चयः ॥७॥ [386] समाप्तः प्रभेदः । [416] and the like. The 'T' in the note of Rahulaji indicates that it exists in the Tibetan translation. In the Tibetan translation there are two works called (1) Chos mnon pa kun las btus pahi bsad pa or Abhidharma Samuccaya Bhasya and (2) mnon pa chos kun las btus pahi rnam par bsad pa shes bya ba or Abhidharma Samuccaya Vyakhya Nama and both are attributed to the same author Rgyal bahi Sras or Jinaputra (see A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist canons, Btanygur and Kahn-gyur, No.4035 and 4054) as appears from the colophon. In the colophon of both of these translations we see "Slob

dpon rgyal bahi sus kyis mdsad pa rdsogs so” or the work of Acharya Jinaputra ends. (आचार्यं जिन पुत्रेण कृतं समाप्तम्) Therefore the author's name instead of Yasomitra as given by Rahulaji appears to be Jinaputra.

But who is this Jinaputra? In the Chinese translation this work is attributed to Sthiramati. (See the Nanjio's Catalogue No. I 78). There No. 1178 is To shan- o-phi-ta mo tsa lun and it is translated into Sanskrit as Mahayanabhidharma Samyukta Samgiti Sastra. But it should be Mahayanabhidharma Samuccaya Bhasya or Vyakhya as correctly given in the Tibetan translation. On it a note is given that “This is a commentary on No. 1199 (i.e. Mahayanabhidharma Samuccaya but not Mahayanabhidharma Samgiti Sastra as given there), compiled by the Bodhisattva Sthiramati, translated by Heuin Tsang A. D. 646 of the Than dynasty A.D. 618-907. 16 fasciculi and further it is said that it is wanting in the Tibetan translation. But it exists in the Tibetan translation as we have already seen. Not only that, in the Chinese there is only one version whereas in the Tibetan translation there are two. Therefore Jinaputra of the Tibetan translation might have been an epithet or another name of Sthiramati.

But is this Bhasya written by Sthiramati? In the Chinese translation there is the word which means ‘compilation’. In the Nanjio's Catalogue also we see “compiled by the Bodhisattva.” This is very significant. It is ‘compiled’ but not written. A very important note on it given by Kue Chi in his Vijnana Matrata Siddhi also suggests the same thing. There he says:- “Sthiramati was contemporary of Dharmapala and was the pupil of Gunamati. He was born in Lo Lo Kuo (Lata country?) in South India. He was expert in Nyaya and was a profound scholar of the Sastras of both the schools or Yanas. He is the man who defended the Kosa of Vasubandhu and refuted the exponents of the Nyaya school as there was another scholar Samgha Bhadra who had written a work called. Kosasani Sastra (?) and belonged to the Sarvastivadin School. Why this was

written ? Because Vasubandhu was first initiated in the School of Sautrantikas when he entered the Order, but later on converted himself to Sarvastivadin. Yet he wrote the Kosa on behalf of the Sautrantikas. That was why Sanghabhadra, as a Sarvastivadin attacked the Kosa with his new work called Kosasani Sastra. And then Sthiramati came out and defended Vasubandhu. What he did was 'compilation' or Tsa-tsi (or Abhidharma Samuccaya Bhasya) and it was meant for the refutation of Nyayavadins. In the Chinese tradition, it is said that the Nyaya theory was not known in China but known in the western country (i.e. India.) or Tsi lun (Abhidharma Samuccaya) was composed by Asanga and its commentary was written by (Simha-Bodh?) and was compiled by Sthiramati. How he compiled was that the original text of Asanga and the commentary by Simhabodhi were separate works and he made the happy fusion."

In the life of Vasubandhu" by Paramartha translated by Takakusu also we get some reference to the controversy between Vasubandhu and Sangha Bhadra and there it is said that "Satyanusara sastra" was written by Sangha Bhadra in refutation of the Kosa of Vasubandhu, instead of Kosasani as we get here. But whatever that may be, it seems to be almost sure that Sthiramati compiled the Abhidharma Samuccaya Bhasya in defence of Vasubandhu and refutation of Sangha Bhadra. He did not write it originally, but simply compiled as the Chinese tradition goes. It was Simha Bodhi (?) who wrote the commentary originally and probably as an independent work. Sthiramati simply did the compilation. That is probably why we get some long passages from other texts also such as Mahayana Sutralamkara and the like which would be discussed later on. Long passages, concluded with the words समाप्तमानुषंगिकम् समाप्तः समनन्तरप्रत्ययप्रसंगः समाप्तं आलम्बनप्रत्यये यथाग्रन्थं विनिश्चयः etc also points to the same conclusion. Probably also this is the reason why it is said भास्यतः instead of भास्ये in the colophon अभिधर्मसमुच्चये भास्यतः

संक्रथ्यविनिश्चयो नाम पञ्चमस्समुच्चयः and no name of the author is given.

However, there are two translations in the Tibetan and one is called Bhasya and the other is called Vyakhya, and there is only one translation in the Chinese and the present manuscript is the only text available so far. Our available text begins with “नमो रत्नत्रयाय । किमर्थमिदं शास्त्रमारब्धं स्कन्धादीनारभ्य कति कस्मादित्येवमादिषु, चिन्तास्थानेषु कौशल्यकरणार्थं तथाहयनेन कौशल्येन द्विविधोऽनुशासो लभ्यते । मनस्कारानुशासः । संक्रथ्यविनिश्चयानुशासश्च । When we compare the three translations two in the Tibetan and one in the Chinese with the present text, we see that the Bhasya in the Tibetan translation (Bstangyur and Kahngyur 4053) corresponds with the present text and that also opens with the translation of the same passages quoted above. But the Vyakhya in the Tibetan translation (4054) and the Chinese translation open with a few verses followed by a long paragraph which is not found in the present text nor in the Bhasya. After that paragraph, the corresponding translation of the opening passage of the present text, as quoted above, comes in both the translations. Further the style of the Tibetan translation of the Vyakhya and the Chinese translation is to quote the lines or the passages in full from the original text of the Abhidharma Samuccaya and then to give the portion of the commentary on it whereas the present text of the commentary and the Bhasya in the Tibetan translation do not quote the full text but only the *Pratikas* or the portion required to be commented upon and sometimes even that is also omitted and only the commentary is given. Thus there is much similarity between the present text and the Bhasya in the Tibetan translation in one hand and the Chinese translation and the Vyakhya in the Tibetan translation on the other, though these four agree with each other in general. Therefore we may safely presume that there were two versions of the Abhidharma Samuccaya Bhasya of which only this one is available so far.

Such is the importance of the book. If any day the book of Simha-Bodhi would be found, it would throw

much light on it. It occupies an important place in the history of the development of the Kosa school also. Further, of the Abhidharma Samuccaya of Asanga in the Rahula Collection only 17 scattered leaves are available out of 44 (or 45) leaves in my estimate. In my restoration work of the missing portion from the Chinese and the Tibetan translations this work has rendered a great help with some quotations from the original text here and there such as. “पंचाकारात्मवस्तुद्भावनतामुपादाय (2a) अविद्यासंयोजनेन संप्रयुक्तो दुःखधर्मान् समुदयधर्मान्नाध्यवस्यति... इष्टिसंयोजनेन संप्रयुक्तो मिथ्यानिःसरणं पश्येते”

etc, (516) It also generally gives clue to the original words of the text in the explanatory sentences such as.

आभिसांक्षेपिकं परमाणुरूपमाभ्यवकाशिकं तदेव यथोक्तं तदन्यप्रतिवारकस्पष्टव्यरहितं सामादानिकमविज्ञप्तिरूपं परिकल्पितं प्रतिविम्बरूपं वैभुत्विकं विमोक्षव्यापिगोचरं यद्रूपम् ।

Here the underlined words आभिसांक्षेपिकं, आभ्यवकाशिकं, सामादानिकं, परिकल्पितं and वैभुत्विकं appears to be the original words of the text. In the passage. पंचाकारात्मवस्तुद्भावनतामुपादायेत्यत्र चतुरा-

कारमात्मनोवस्त्वित्यात्मवस्तु पञ्चमं त्वात्मलक्षणमेव वस्त्वित्यात्मवस्तुवेदितव्यम् ।
सपरिग्रहदेहग्रहणेन बाह्यस्याध्यात्मिकस्य रूपस्कन्धस्य ग्रहणं वेदितव्यम् । वेदनादीनां
उपभोगादिवं तल्लक्षणत्वे निर्देशे ज्ञापयिष्यते । तदाश्रयात्म स्ववस्तु विज्ञानं तेषां सपरिग्रह
देहादीनामाश्रय आत्मलक्षणावच्छिद्यर्थः । तथाहि लोके विज्ञाने आत्मग्राहः ।
शेषेष्व्वात्मीयग्राह इति ।

The underlined words give some clue to the probable restored passage “किमुपादाय स्कन्धाः पञ्चैव । पंचाकारवस्तुद्भावनतामुपादाय । सपरिग्रहदेहात्मवस्तु ।”

Similarly in the passage यथा रूपं तथा भव इति सुखादिवेदनीयादिन्द्रियार्थ
द्वयात्सुखादिवेदनोत्पत्तेः । यथा वेदयते तथा संजानीयते (?) त इति यथानुभवं निमित्तो-
द्ग्रहणात् । यथा संजानीते तथा वेदयति (? चेतयते) यथा संज्ञं कर्माभिसंस्करणत् ।
यथा चेतयते तथा विज्ञानं तत्र तत्रोपगं भवतीति यथाभिसंस्कारविषयेषु, गत्यन्तरेषु,
च विज्ञानपरिणामनात् । यत्र संकलिश्यते व्यवदायते चेति सेन्द्रिये काये नानुभवेनेति ।
these underlined words put together, made a complete sentence which is found in the corresponding Tibetan and Chinese translations of the text.

Further this commentary suggests some different readings such as अस्वातन्त्र्य, अविनिर्भाग, परकालोत्पन्नं, प्रतिपत्तिसं गृहीतान् etc. in places of अस्वास्थ्य, अविनिर्भाग, मरणकालोत्पन्नं, परिसंगृहीतान् etc. in the Abhidharma-samuccaya. It also solves the problem of some extra

passages found in the Chinese and Tibetan translations of the text, some of which are traced in this commentary such as तदेकस्यानां च स्थावराणां (11a), पूर्वाविधवशेन कुशलादिचेतनासमुदाचारात् (496), निर्वाणाधिकारिकस्य, कुशलमूलस्योत्पादितपूर्वस्यापुनरुत्पादत्वात् ।

(1106) and the like. This is discussed in detail elsewhere.

Further in this work, we see references of some Sutras and some Sastras. Some Sutras are referred to by their names, which throw some more light on them. Some of the names of the Sutras mentioned in this book are (1) Aksayamati Nirdesa Sutra,¹ (2) Aksaya mati Sutra² (3) Satpurusagati Sutra,³ (4) Angulyagra Sutra,⁴ (5) Vibhanga Sutra,⁵ (6) Arya Maitreya Pariprccha,⁶ (7) Aupamyā Sutra,⁷ (8) Sujata Sutra,⁸ (9) Audakopama Sutra,⁹ (10) Anitya Sutra,¹⁰ (11) Asvadana Sutra,¹¹ (12) Pratitya Samutpada,¹² Sutra, and (13) Buddhaksepā Sutra.¹³

- 1 यथोक्तं दानपारमितामारभ्यायां क्षियमतिनिर्देशसूत्रे निर्मलं सवासनविपक्ष-
पूहाणम् । (96a)
- 2 शीलादीनां पुनर्दोषत्वमात्मसमारोप वर्जितत्वादिभिर्यथायोगं तदक्षयमति सूत्रेषु
द्रष्टव्यम् । (96b) ।
- 3 अन्तरापरिनिर्वायी""स पुनः उपपरिदेशं प्रत्यनुचलितोच्चलितमात्रदूरगतमात्रावस्थतया
त्रिविधो वेदितव्यः सत्पुरुषगतिसूत्रानुसारेण । (113a) ।
- 4 यथोक्तमङ्गुल्यग्रसूत्रे यत्किंचिद्रूपं यावद्विज्ञानमतीतानागतप्रत्युत्पन्नमिति विस्तरेण
यावद्विहिताद्यद्वा दूरे यद्वा अन्तिके तत्सर्वमेकध्वमभिसंक्षिप्यैकं भागं करोत्येकं
पिण्डमेकं पुंजमेकं राशिं करोत्येकं यावद्राशिं कृत्वा इतः प्रतिसंक्षिप्ते सर्वमेतदनित्यं सर्वं
दुःखमिति विस्तरः । (114a)
- 5 सकृन्नैर्वाणिकं चाधिकृत्य विभङ्गसूत्रे स्तोतापन्नान्तरमर्हद्यचवस्थानं वेदितव्यम्
(114 b) ।
- 6 क्षिपाभिज्ञाकौशल्यं षट्कृत्वो रात्रिदिवसं पापप्रतिदेशना पुण्यानुमोदना ब्रह्माध्येषणा
कुशलपरिणामना च यथाक(म)मार्यमैत्रेयपरिच्छायायाम् । (129 b) ।
- 7 प्रतिक्षेपमुखं यत्रेदमारभ्येदं प्रतिक्षिप्यते । तद्यथा वास्य औपम्यसूत्रे आस्रवक्ष्ये
मारम्य चत्वारः पुङ्गवाः प्रतिक्षिप्यन्ते । इतो बाह्यक इतो धार्मिकः श्रुतचिन्तामात्रतुष्टः
भावनायां परितस्य [तुष्ट्य] मानः अपरिपूर्णसंभारश्च । जानतश्चाहं भिक्षवः
पश्यतश्चाहमास्वाणां क्षयं वदामीत्येवमादिना सूत्रखण्डेनाद्यः पुञ्जलः प्रतिक्षितः ।
भावनायोगमनु युक्तस्येत्येवमादिना द्वितीयः औपम्यदृष्टान्तेन तृतीयः नौदृष्टान्तेन चतुर्थः
इति । [134 b] ।

- 8 तद्यथा सुजातसूत्रे प्रणाशः बाह्याध्यात्मिकोभयव्यवसानं । तत्र बाह्य उपाधि...
दिलक्षण आध्यात्मिकः पञ्चोपादानस्कन्धलक्षणः । अलक्षणस्तदुभयाध्यवसान-
विगमः । प्रणाशोपाये अप्रव्रजनं प्रव्रजितस्य चास्त्वक्षयं प्रतिप्रमादः । विपर्ययाद-
प्रणाशोपायो द्रष्टव्यः । तत्र उभयतो वतार्य सुजातः कुलपुत्रः शोभते यच्च केशश्म-
श्रूयवतार्य यावत् प्रव्रजितः । यच्चास्त्रवाणां क्षयाद्यावत् प्रजानामीत्येनाप्रणाशस्त-
दुभयापदेशेन तद्विपरीतलक्षणोऽप्रणाशस्तदुभयोपायौ सूचितौ भवतः । [135 a]
- 9 तद्यथा औदकोपमे सूत्रे तद्विधौ पुद्गलौ चित्रतुः प्रमेदानधिकृत्येदं भाषितं पृथग्जनं दृष्ट-
सत्यं च । पृथग्जनस्त्रिविधः । अशुक्लः अल्पशुक्लः बहुसत्यश्च । दृष्टसत्यश्चतु-
ष्प्रमेदः । फलस्थाः त्रयः शैक्षाः एकोऽशैक्षः । [135 b]
- 10 तद्यथा अनित्यसूत्रे यः सदिदं समनुपश्यति सर्वोऽसौ रूपं समनुपश्यति यो वा रूपं
समनुपश्यति सर्वः सः सदिदं समनुपश्यति । [135 b]
- 11 [a] तद्यथा आस्वादनसूत्रे अस्ति भिन्नवः रूपे आस्वाद इत्येवमादिना अपवादान्तं
समारोपान्तं च वर्जयित्वा तत्त्वार्थनयोऽभिद्योतितः । अस्त्यास्वाद आदीनवो निःसरण-
मित्यनेनापवादान्तो वर्जितः । रूपे यावद्विज्ञान इत्यनेन समारोपान्तः । स्कन्धमात्रे
संक्लेशो व्यवदानञ्चानात्मनीति प्रदर्शयता यावच्चाहं भिन्नवः यावदनुत्तरां सम्यक्
संबोधिमभिसंबुद्धोऽस्मीत्यध्यज्ञासिपमित्यनेन प्रातिनयोऽचिन्त्यनयेन परिदीपितः ।
[136 a]
- [b] तद्यथात्रैवास्वादनसूत्रे । तत्र तत्त्वलक्षणमुपादानसंगृहीतं दुःखसत्यं
परिज्ञालक्षणं तस्यैवास्वादादिना यथाभूतं परिज्ञातं प्रहाणलक्षणं साक्षात्क्रियालक्षणं
च ।.....[137 a]
- [c] तद्यथा ह्यत्र सूत्रे निःसरणं कतमद्भयोऽनुच्छन्दरागविनयात्.....[137a]
- 12 यद्यथा प्रतीत्य समुत्पादसूत्रे अस्मिन् सतीदं भवति अस्थोत्पादादिदमुत्पद्यते यत्र
अविद्याप्रत्ययाः संस्कारा इत्येवमादि । [137 b]
- 13 तद्यथा बुद्धाक्षेपसूत्रे चत्वार इमे बोधिसत्त्वानां बोधिपरिशोधका धर्माः शून्यताभावना
सर्वसत्त्वेस्वप्रतिहतचित्तता बोधिसत्त्वानां नित्यं हितसुखोपसंहरणता निरामिषेण चित्तेन
धर्मदानसंप्रकाशनता चेति । [138 b]

There are some quotations from the Sūtras in a general way with the words such as इत्येवमादि सूत्रपदानि (6b) यथोक्तं भगवता (14b), यथोक्तं (40a, 54b, 85a 130b), सूत्रपदानुसारेण (47b) सूत्रानुसारेण (57a), तेषु तेषु महायानसूत्रेषु (74a), उक्तं भगवता (80b, 110b), गाथानुगीतेन दर्शितः (135a) यथोक्तं सूत्रे (145b), गाथायां वचनात् (95b), स्थविरानन्देनोद्गृहीतानि (88b), यदुक्तं स्थविरानन्देन and the like. Some of these may be traced. For example:—

स्थामलान् वीर्यवानुत्साही दृढपराक्रमः अनिद्धितधुरः कुशलेषु धर्मेषु इत्येवमादि सूत्रपदानि (6b) is found in its pali form in the Samyukta Nikaya, Anguttara Nikaya.

Similarly

कललं प्रथमं भवति कललाजायतेऽर्बुदः ।
 अर्बुदाजायते पेशी पेशितो जायते घनम् ॥
 घनात्प्रशाखा जायन्ते केशलोमनखादयः ।
 इन्द्रियाणि च रूपीणि व्यञ्जनाद्यनुपूर्वशः ॥ occurs in

“नाहमाशुष्मन् दासकैमान् पञ्चोपादानस्कन्धानात्मतो वात्सीयतो वा समनुपश्याम्यपि त्वस्ति मे पञ्चोपादानस्कन्धेष्वस्मीति मानः अस्मीतिच्छन्दोऽस्मीत्यनुशयः अप्रहोणोऽपरिज्ञातः अनिरोधितः अव्यन्तीकृत इति comes in तद्यथा “यदा इमे प्रादुर्भवन्त धर्मा इत्येवमादि occurs in the Dharmacakra Pravartana Sutra. नास्ति ध्यानमप्रज्ञस्येति वचनात् comes in Dharmapada (Bhiksu. 13).

But there are some quotations from some Sutras which I have not yet been able to trace.

Besides there are some quotations apparently from some Sutras without even any general reference. But from the language they appear to be Sutras. For example :- in the passage, “चत्वारि वैशाख्यानि । सम्यक् संबुद्धस्य वत मे सत इमे ते धर्माः अनभिसंबुद्धा इत्यत्र मा कश्चिच्छ्रमणो वा मारो वा ब्रह्मा वा सह धर्मेण चोदयेद्वा स्मारयेद्वा..... यावत् सिंहनादं नदामीति विस्तरेण’ the language seems to be of a Sutra, but no reference is given either in general way or in particular. Such examples are also many. Sometimes it gives some additional portion of a Sutra such as तत्रैव सूत्रे उक्तमितीमाः सप्तदश समाना दश भवन्ति दश समानाः सप्तदश भवन्ति सप्तविंशतिः समाना एका भवत्येका समाना सप्तविंशतिर्भवतीति (107) in continuation of इदं च संघायोक्तं भगवता महाधर्मादर्शं धर्मपर्याये बोधिसत्त्वस्य यथासतमयोनिशो धर्मान्विचिन्वतः अष्टाविंशतिरसदृष्टय उत्पद्यन्ते । अष्टाविंशतिरसदृष्टयः कतमाः । निमित्तदृष्टिः.....अभिमानदृष्टिश्च in Abhidharma Samuccaya (2A+B6)

Further the commenrary gives also much help to restore and reconstruct some more Sutras. In the Abhidharma Samuccaya, probably there was a passage “यद्भगवता सूत्रान्तेषु निर्दिष्टं कायेन संबृतो भवतीत्येवमादि” (64) and then each of the clauses is explained. Unfortunately this portion is missing. But with the help of the commentary the original words might be restored, and if it would be reconstructed, it would be something like “कायेन वाचा संबृतो भवति कायवाक्संपत्त्या संपन्नो भवति परिशुद्धकामवाक् समुदाचारो भवति” कुशलकायवाक्समुदाचारो भवति अनवद्य, अव्यावाध्य, आनुलोभिक, अनुच्छविक,

अप्यधिक, प्रतिरुह, प्रदक्षिण, अतप्त, अतनुताप्य, अविप्रतिसारि कायवाक् समुदाचारो भवति”

we may reconstruct a few more texts like this. For example, there is a passage “बोधिसत्त्वस्य दानपारमिता कतमा । यद्बोधिसत्त्वस्य बोधिसत्त्वधर्मतायां व्यवस्थितस्य बोधिचित्तं निश्चित्य करुणापुरः सरेण सर्वास्तिपरित्यागे काय-बाङ्मनस्कर्म । (94a) । पुनर्यद्दानं सर्वज्ञतामारम्य सर्वज्ञतायै संवर्त्तते सर्वज्ञतां परिगृह्णाति-सर्वज्ञताकृत्यं च करोति तद्दानपारमितोच्यते ।” (94E). Then it is said:—“शील-ज्ञान्तिवीर्यपारमितासु यथाक्रमं ‘सर्वसंवरप्रज्ञावतोऽसमादानुरक्षायां’ ‘सर्वप्रकारदुःखमर्षणाधि-वासनायां’ सर्वकुशलधर्मसमुदानतायां यत्कायबाङ्मनस्कर्मैति वेदितव्यम् । ध्यानपारमितायां सर्वाकारकायबाङ्मनस्कर्मविभुत्वे सर्वाकारा चेतसः स्थितिः प्रज्ञापारमितायां सर्वाकारकायबाङ्मन-स्कर्मविभुत्वे यः सर्वाकारो धर्मविचय इति” on the analogy of the first paragraph, we may reconstruct “बोधिसत्त्वस्य शीलपारमिता कतमा । यद्बोधि-सत्त्वस्य सर्वसंवरप्रज्ञावतोऽसमादानानुरक्षायां व्यवस्थितस्य बोधिचित्तं निश्चित्य करुणापुरस्सरेण चेतसा सर्वास्तिपरित्यागे कायबाङ्मनस्कर्म । ज्ञान्तिः पारमिता कतमा ।..... etc.” But it is difficult to say whether it is from some Sutra or Sastra so long the original source is not traced.

Of the Sastras, there is the reference of Viniscaya Samgrahani by name. The passage begins with “तदेतदालयविज्ञान-मस्तीति कथं विज्ञायते” । यस्मात्तेन विना

“उपात्तमादिस्पष्टत्वं बीजं कर्म न युज्यते ।

कायिकोऽनुभवोऽचित्तसमापत्तिश्च्युतिस्तथा ॥”

एतस्याश्चोन्दानगाथाया विभागः । तद्यथा विनिश्चयसंग्रहण्यमष्टभिराकारैरालयविज्ञान-स्यास्तिता प्रत्येतव्या । तद्यथा अन्तरेणालयविज्ञानं आश्रयोपादानासंभवतः आदिप्रवृत्त्यसंभवतः स्पष्टप्रवृत्त्यसंभवतः बीजत्वासंभवतः कर्मासंभवतः कायिकानुभवासंभवतः अचित्तकसमापत्यसंभवतः विज्ञानच्युत्यसंभवतश्च ॥

Then each is explained very elaborately with a quotation from some Sutra such as यथोक्तं भगवता विज्ञानं चास्य कायादनपक्रान्तं भवतीति and it ends with केन कारणेनासत्यालयविज्ञाने च्युतिरपि न युज्यते । तथाहि व्यवमानस्य विज्ञानपूर्वदेहं वा शीतोर्कुर्वन्विजहाति अशोदेहं वा च मनोविज्ञा नं कदाचिन्न प्रवर्त्तते । अतोऽप्यालयविज्ञानस्यैव देहोपादायकस्य विगमादेहशीतता उपलभ्यते देहाप्रति-संवेदना च । ननु मनोवेज्ञानस्य अतोऽपि न युज्यते । (13a-15a).

I strongly feel that this is a verbal quotation from the original text from which it was compiled. That seems to be the style of this work as there are many a long quotations ad verbatim from the Mahayana Sutralamkara though the name of it is not mentioned. About 64 lines of Maha- yana Sutralamkara beginning with पञ्चविधा पारमिताभावना ।

उपाधिसंनिश्चिता ।... upto देशनाविभुत्वं पारमितासर्वाकारदेशनायामव्याधातः ।

(P. 102-103) are exactly quoted in the same wording in this book (97b-100b) with some minor differences which are important from the point of view of deciding the different readings. The following passages also may be compared:—

Mahayana Sutralamkara.

(a) चतुर्विधोऽभिसंधिर्देशनायां बुद्धस्य वेदितव्यः । अवतारणाभिसंधिलक्षणाभिसंधिः प्रतिपक्षाभिसंधिः परिणामनाभिसंधिश्च । तत्रावतारणाभिसंधिः श्रावकेषु द्रष्टव्यः । शासनावतारणार्थमनुत्रासाय रूपाद्यस्तित्वदेशनात् । लक्षणाभिसंधिस्त्रिषु परिकल्पितादिस्वभावेषु द्रष्टव्यो निःस्वभावानुत्पन्नादिसर्वधर्मदेशनात् । प्रतिपक्षाभिसंधिर्दोषाणां विनये द्रष्टव्यो यथाष्टावरणप्रतिपक्षाग्रयानसंभाषासानुशंसे गाथाद्वयं वक्ष्यति । परिणामनाभिसंधिरभिधानगाम्भीर्ये द्रष्टव्यो यथाह ।

असारे सारमतयो विपर्यासे च सुस्थिताः । क्लेशेन च सुसंक्लिष्टा लभन्ते बोधिमुत्तमाम् ॥ इति । अयमत्राभिसंधिः । असारे सारमतय इत्यविच्छेदे येषां सारबुद्धिः प्रधानबुद्धिर्विच्छेदो हि विसारश्चेतसः । विपर्यासे च सुस्थिता इति नित्यमुखशुच्यात्मग्राहविपर्ययेण नित्यादिके विपर्यासे सुस्थिता अपरिहाणितः । क्लेशेन च सुसंक्लिष्टा इति दीर्घदुष्करव्यायामश्रमेणात्यर्थ-परिक्लिष्टाः । (Page 82) ।

Abhidharma Samuccaya Bhasya.

(a) पुनः सर्वेऽभिसंधयोऽभिसमस्य चत्वारो भवन्त्यवतारणाभिसंध्यादयस्तत्रावताराभिसंधिः श्रावकेषु द्रष्टव्यः ।.....

... ..
... ..
... ..

.....यथाष्टावरणप्रतिपक्षा अग्रयानसंभाषा । अष्टावरणानि बुद्धधर्मेऽवज्ञेति विस्तरः । तदुदाहरणानि यथायोगं चतुरभिप्रायनिर्देशानि द्रष्टव्यानि । परिणामनाभिसंधिः.....

(The rest the same. 108a + b)

(b) चतुर्विधोऽभिप्रायः । समताभिप्रायो यदाह । अहमेव स तस्मिन्समये

(b) अपि खलु, महायाने तथागतस्य सर्वेऽभिप्रायाः सन्नेपेण

In the context of Abhisandhi Viniscaya two verses are quoted from the Dharmapada in the Abhidharma Samuccaya. The verses are:—

(i) मातरं पितरं हत्वा राजानौ द्वौ च श्रोत्रियौ ।

राष्ट्रं सानुचरं हत्वा नरो विशुद्ध उच्यते ॥

(ii) अश्रद्धोऽकृतज्ञश्च सन्धिच्छेदी च यो नरः ।

इतावकाशो बान्ताशः स वै उत्तमपुरुषः ॥

But the explanation of these verses given in this work are quite different than that given in the Atthakatha by

Buddhaghosa. Buddhaghosa equates mother, father, king, two Srotriyas, the kingdom and the followers with Desire (Tanha), Egoism (Asmimana), the View of Permanency and Impermanency (Sassatuccheda Ditthi), 12 Bases (Dvadasayatanas), and Pleasure and Attachment (Nandiraga), (Dh. A. Pakinnaka.5.). But in the present work, at first a long explanation of the apparent meaning is given and then these are equated with Desire (Trsna), Action and Birth (Karmabhava), Sopadana Vijnana, Drsti and Silavrataparamarsa, six Bases (Sadayatanas) and their Objects (Sagocara).

The inconsistency of the second verse is explained in this work as follows:-

तत्राश्रद्धो विमुक्तिज्ञानदर्शनयोगेन स्वप्रत्ययत्वात् । अकृतज्ञोऽसंस्कृतनिर्वाणज्ञानात् ।
संघच्छेत्ता पुनर्भवप्रतिसन्धिहेतुकलेशप्रहाणात् । इतावकाशः । आयत्यां सर्वगतिषु दुःखानभिनिर्वर्त-
नात् । वान्ताशो दृष्टे धर्मे उपकरणवत्त्वेन कायं सन्तारयतोऽपि भोगजीविताशाभावादिति ।

Further in this context in the Abhidharma Samuccaya in the missing portion two Sutras are quoted which appear to be enigmatic and mystic. One is:—बोधिसत्त्वो महासत्त्वः पञ्चभिर्धर्मैः समन्वागतो दानपारमितायां क्षिप्रं परिपूरिं लभन्ते । कतमे पञ्च । मात्सर्यधर्मतामनुवृंहयति ! दानेन च परिस्त्रियते । याचनकं च द्वेष्टि । न किञ्चित् कदाचिद्ददाति । दूरेण च भवति दानस्य । An interpretation of this Sutra is given in this work as “मात्सर्यधर्मतामनुवृंहयतीति सवासनमात्सर्यानुशयप्रहाणेन तत्तथाश्रयपरिवृत्तिसाक्षात्करणात् । दानेन च परिस्त्रियते दीर्घकालं दाननिमित्तं परमदुष्करश्रमाभ्युपगमात् । याचनकं च द्वेष्टि । स्वयंगाहाभिरुचिततया याचनकप्रतिकूलगात् । न किञ्चित् कदाचिद्ददाति । सर्वस्य वस्तुनः सर्वदा दानात् ! दूरे च भवति दानस्य । आसाद्य दानादिपरिवर्जनात् । (148b)

The language of the other Sutra is more aggressive. It runs like this:—“बोधिसत्त्वो महासत्त्वः पञ्चभिर्धर्मैः समन्वागतो ब्रह्मचारी भवति परमेण ब्रह्मचर्येण समन्वागतः । कतमे पञ्च । नान्यत्रमैथुनान्मैथुनस्य निःसरणं पर्येषते । मैथुनप्रहाणेनोपेक्षको भवति । उत्पन्नं च मैथुनरागमधिवासयति । मैथुनप्रतिपक्षेण च धर्मो-
न्नस्यति । अभीक्ष्णं च द्वयं समापद्यते ।” This enigmatic expression is simplified with the interpretation as follows:—नान्यत्र मैथुनान्मैथुनस्य निःसरणं पर्येषत इति शमयविपरयनाद्वयेन तस्यैव यथाभूतपरिज्ञानेन तत्प्रहाणाद्यथाभूतपरिज्ञानं पुनरस्य तत्तथा प्रतिवेधाद्वेदितव्यम् । मैथुनप्रहाणेनोपेक्षको भवति । अब्रह्मचर्यप्रहाणोपेक्षणात् ।

1. मात्रादिधातवचनस्य तृष्णादिप्रहाणपरिणामनाद्यथाक्रमं तृष्णाकर्मभवं सोपादानं विज्ञानं दृष्टिशीलवृत्तपरामर्शद्वयं षडायतनं च सगोचरमधिकृत्य मात्राद्यो द्रष्टव्याः । तत्साधर्म्यात् (147b)

उत्पन्नं च मैथुनरागमधिवासयति । कामरागमध्यात्ममुत्तन्नस्य नहि प्रवासनात् मैथुनप्रतिपक्षेण
च धर्मेणोत्पद्यति । तत्प्रतिपक्षेण मार्गेण सर्वसत्त्वोत्तरणाय व्यवस्यतीति कृत्वा । अभीक्ष्णं च
द्वयद्वयं समापद्यते । संक्लेशव्यवदानद्वयेन फलहेतुभूतेन चतुःस्त्यात्मकेन पुनः पुनः लौकिकलो-
कोत्तरमार्गद्वयं समापद्यत इति कृत्वा । (149A)

Further it is clear from these two passages also how far this work is helpful in reconstructing the original text. Moreover these two passages throw more light on the development and influence of Tantrism on Buddhism in the age of and before Asanga.

These are a few points I could at present observe after a general reading of the work. This is a rough estimate in brief. A close and detailed study would throw much light, I hope, on some of the problems of the Abhidharma school. Further, I hope, the text would be published soon.

THE SUNGA DYNASTY

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An attempt has been made in this paper to co-relate the kings, bearing the title 'Mitra,' whose coins have been found out in various places of Northern India, with the Sunga kings of Magadha. Cunningham and V.A. Smith assigned those coins to a date which falls within the reigning period of the Sunga kings i.e. 185 B.C. to 72 B. C. Jayaswal and Raychaudhuri already identified some of these kings with those of the Sunga dynasty. First we give a list of these kings whose names are known from coins and inscriptions, along with the places over which they ruled (V.A. Smith—Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum Part II.)

FROM COINS.

I Panchala-Kosala.

1. Agnimitra.
2. Suryamitra.
3. Bhanumitra.
4. Indramitra.
5. Phalgunimitra.
6. Bhadrachosha.

II Ayodhya.

1. Ayumitra.
or
Vayumitra.
2. Vijaymitra.
3. Satyamitra.
4. Dhanadeva.
5. Devamitra.

III Ahicchatra.

1. Agnimitra.
2. Dhruvamitta.
3. Suryamitra.
4. Bhanumitra.
5. Bhumimitra.
6. Indramitra.
7. Vishnumitra.
8. Jayamitra.
9. Phalgunimitra.
10. Brihaspatimitra.

IV Kosam.

1. Jyeshthamitra.
2. Brahmamitra.
3. Gomitra.
4. Bahasatimitra.
5. Asvaghosha.
6. Devamitra.

V Mathura.

1. Agnimitra.
2. Sumitra.
3. Suryamitra.
4. Brahmamitra.
5. Vishnumitra.
6. Gomitra.
7. Asvaghosha.
8. Dhanadeva.
9. Bhagavata Ghosha.

VI Avanti.

1. Brahmamitra.
2. Gomitra.

VII Punjab.

1. Bhanumitra.

FROM INSCRIPTIONS.

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|
| A. <i>Gaya and Rajgir.</i> | B. <i>Ayodhya.</i> | C. <i>Pabhosa (Kosam).</i> |
| 1. Indragnimitra. | 1. Phalgunideva. | 1. Odraka. |
| 2. Brahmamitra. | 2. Dhanadeva. | 2. Bahasatimitra. |
| 3. Amogha. | | |
| 4. Bahasatimitra. | | |
| D. <i>Mathura.</i> | | E. <i>Vidisa etc.</i> |
| 1. Vishnumitra. | | 1. Bhagabhadra. |
| 2. Dharma (or Brahma)mitra. | | 2. Bhagavata. |
| | | 3. Phagu(ni)deva. |
| | | 4. Rebatimitra. |

Of these names, most are to be found in Smith's catalogue of coins. The Kosam coins are mentioned under 'Inscribed, circular, various coins' (p 205). The coin of 'Ayumitra' is of doubtful reading. It may be read as of 'Vayumitra.'

We have to discuss first the kings mentioned in the inscriptions. We cannot agree with Dr Barua that Brahmamitra was a king of Magadha after Indragnimitra whose wife Kuramgi dedicated the Bodhgaya Rails. Indragnimitra was the king of Gaya and Rajgir which formed one province at that time, and Brahmamitra was a contemporary of his, ruling over another part of India viz Kosam and Mathura. As the names of both the kings are found on Bodhgaya Rails, no other conclusion may be accepted. The same Rails contain the name of 'Amogha' who was perhaps the son of Indragnimitra. He was not yet king, but later on ascended the throne as mentioned in the Puranas. Bahasatimitra of the Kharavela inscription was definitely a king of Rajgir, Ahich-Chatra and Kosam, while the king of Magadha, whom also Kharavela defeated, must have been another king ruling at Pataliputra, who fled to Mathura perhaps in the court of one his relatives. All these indicate that the successors of Agnimitra were ruling over different parts of the Sunga empire.

Regarding the Ayodhya inscription of Dhanadeva we also differ from Barua. The inscription is clearly of a king named Dhanadeva who was not the sixth brother or son of Pushyamitra, but sixth in descent from the founder of the Sunga dynasty. His father was Phalgudeva

or Phalgunimitra of the coins of Ahichchatra and Kosala. That he was sixth in descent from Pushyamitra will be shown below. 'Dharmmaraja' was a title of Phalgudeva (cf. Dharmaraja Yudhisthira of the Epic and also see below).

Regarding Odraka, we need not identify him with Bhadraka of the Puranas or Bhagbhadra of the Besnagar Heliodorus inscription. He might have been ruling at Kosam, another centre of Sunga rule, when Ashadasena of Ahichchatra excavated the cave. As we do not get the names of many kings of Kosam from coins, he might be ruling over Kosam for a long time, while Bahasatimitra was ruling in other parts of the empire as indicated above. Bahasati might have succeeded him at Kosam.

Regarding Vishnumitra of Mathura inscription, we may take his father's name to be Dharma. Dr Barua doubted the reading 'Dharma'. 'Dharma' is the name of one of the legendary 'Vasus'. He might have been one of the sons of Agnimitra (See below)

We have got the name 'Phagudeva' in an inscription at Bharhut (Luders no 780). We may identify him with Phalgunimitra of the coins of Ahichchatra, and the father of Dhanadeva of Ayodhya. He was perhaps not yet a king when the Bharhut rail was constructed. He was almost a contemporary of Brahmamitra and Indragnimitra of the Bodhgaya inscriptions, as will be evident from the date of the Bharhut rails, as discussed below. A Bharhut inscription also refers to one Revatimitra, about whom nothing more is known to us.

King Bhagabhadra might or might not have been identical with king Bhadraka of the Puranas. Bhagabhadra might be the same as king Bhadrachosha of the Panchala coins and Ghosha of the Puranas. Bhagavata of the Besnagar inscription is undoubtedly identical with Bhagavata of the Puranas and Bhagavata Ghosha of the the coins of Mathura.

Then we discuss the names of the Sunga Kings who ruled over Pataliputra (or Magadha) as mentioned in the Puranas. We need not doubt the veracity of the Puranas. We may take as granted that the Sunga kings (i.e. of the

main house) were 10 in number and they ruled for 112 years over Magadha. The Puranic manuscripts mention many variations in the names. We need not take them as mistakes; for, we find that many such kings mentioned in the Puranas are also known from contemporary coins of other parts of the Sunga Empire. It is therefore likely that as different Puranas and their different copies were written in different parts of India, the writers of the Mss, while relating the Sunga kings, sometimes put down the names of those kings who really did not rule over Magadha, but over the places where these copies were written. We shall have, therefore, to pick out such names and try to place them in their proper locality.

Pushyamitra ruled for a long time, sixty-six years according to the Vayu-Purana, and 36 years according to other Puranas. In any case, he was a very old man when he died. Agnimitra was also thus pretty old when he succeeded his father, and so could not have ruled for a long time. According to some authorities, he had also a quarrel with the Brahmins for which he was dethroned. Supposing he ruled for 8 years, it is not improbable that his sons, who were also now pretty grown up, became rulers of the various parts of the empire. One, Vasumitra, is known to have been ruling over Vidisa even during the life-time of Pushyamitra. The division of the Sunga empire after Agnimitra is very probable; but we need not assume that it was the result of any internal dissension.

Jayaswal tried to show that the Puranas appear to indicate that Pushyamitra had eight sons. Though his view may not be accepted, there are reasons to believe that Agnimitra had eight sons. One of these eight, we know, was 'Vasumitra.' Another was called 'Vasu-Jyeshtha' or 'Jyeshthamitra' as in coins. These names indicate that the 8 sons of Agnimitra were named after the eight Vasus of Indian legends, and hence the eldest son of Agnimitra was called 'Jyeshtha of the Vasus.' As Agnimitra had eight sons their names were given after those of the 8 Vasus who were very important gods of the Gaya locality ('Vasus' were 'Pitrins' and Gaya was a great centre of Pitri-worship or

Pitritirtha) in the Sunga period. The names of these Vasus were different in different Puranas. They were Surya, Chandra (Soma), Dhruva, Dhara (Earth), Anala (fire), Anila (Vayu, air), atmosphere (Antariksha) and Heaven. Some of the Puranas name 'Pratyusa' and Prabhasa in place of the last two names. In some lists, Dharma is one of the Vasus. It will be shown below that many of the names found in the coins or inscriptions of the Mitra kings may be easily identified with the names of the legendary Vasus.

Agnimitra's eldest son was Vasu-Jyeshtha or Jyethamitra of the Kosam coins. Hence he was so called. Then came Vasumitra. While Vasumitra was king of Magadha, Jyestha ruled over Kosam. Jyestha also might have ruled over Magadha for some time, and hence he is remembered in the Puranic list of Magadha kings. He might not have ruled for 7 years in Magadha, but these 7 years may refer to his whole period of kingship. Such an assumption is necessary, for otherwise the total period of Sunga rule will exceed that given in the Puranas.

In place of Vasumitra, the jMT Ms of Pargiter mentions Vayumitra and dMT Ms mentions Sumitra. We cannot identify Vasumitra with these kings nor can we take this as a mistake of the Puranas. It is likely, therefore, that these kings ruled over other parts of the Sunga Empire while Vasumitra ruled at Pataliputra, or a little time after him. We have got coins of both Vayumitra and Sumitra. The former ruled in Ayodhya and the latter in Mathura.

After Vasumitra, the Puranas refer to Andhraka, Odraka or Bhadraka. One Ms of the Vishnu Purana mentions a king named Vajramitra who is also mentioned in the other Puranas in a later verse. It is not improbable that the Puranas really wanted to say that after the sons of the king Vasumitra, Magadha or some parts of the Sunga empire went to the hands of an Andhra king. For the Puranas say that after Andhraka will be Pulindaka. These two names 'Andhraka' and 'Pulindaka' are found closely together as names of two tribes in the Puranas.

It was probably due to the capture of Magadha by these tribes that there is a great confusion in the Puranas in the list of kings who ruled after Vasumitra. Hence we find Bhadraka and Odraka mentioned in place of Andhraka. Bhadraka and Odraka both really ruled—not perhaps immediately after Vasumitra at Magadha. The former was Bhagabhadra of Heliodorus inscription, and the latter was the ruler of Prabhasa or some other part of the Sunga Empire. We need not count Odraka's 10 years rule with that of the Sunga kings. We may reckon two years for his rule in Magadha, as some Puranas say.

The Andhras and Pulindas ruled according to the Puranas for 5 years only. A powerful scion of the Sunga family might have come to Magadha from another part of the Empire and drove away the Southern tribes from Magadha. These tribes were called Andhrakas, but later on when they captured Magadha after the Kanvas, the Puranas call them Andhrabhritiyas. (the Servant Andhras). It might be that the Andhras, after their first attempt on the Sunga empire, took service under them & hence were called the servant Andhras.

After the Andhras and Pulindas some Puranas refer to Yomegha, others to Momegha, others to Ghosha. It is likely that Yomegha is a confusion between two names Amogha and Ghosha. We get the name of Amogha on the Bodhgaya rail. He, perhaps, ascended the throne of Rajgir, after Indragnimitra, and the remembrance of his name led to this confusion in the Puranas. While he was at Rajgir, Ghosha or Bhadra-ghosha was perhaps ruling at Pataliputra. He was perhaps the king who had reconquered Magadha, after coming from Besnagar. He was also a king of Kosala-Panchala. It was after him, that Vajramitra became king, according to the Puranas. He might also be a son of Vasumitra. If so, perhaps he had lost his throne due to Andhra invasion and got it back again from Bhadrachosha.

Bhagavata, the king of Magadha was also known as Bhagavata Ghosha, who may be identical with Bhagavata of Mathura coins and the Besnagar inscription. Bhagavata

ruled for 32 years & was a powerful king, and hence his rule over the larger part of the Sunga empire was quite natural. Devabhumi, the last king, is undoubtedly Devamitra of the coins of Ayodhya and Kosam.

If we accept these kings only as really ruling over Pataliputra, we may take the following to be the chronology of the Pataliputraka Sungas..

1. Pushyamitra (36 years)
2. Agnimitra (8 years)
3. Vasumitra (10 years)
- [4. Andhras and Pulindas (5 years)]
5. Bhadrachosha (3 years)
6. Vajramitra (9 years)
7. Bhagavata (32 years)
8. Devabhumi (10 years)

Total 108 years. (excluding no. 4)

The period of Andhra and Pulinda rule will have to be excluded. Three more rulers might have ruled over Pataliputra for 4 years more making the total 112 as in the Puranas. They might have been Sumitra, Vayumitra and Odraka; for their names are found as variants in the list of Sunga kings in the Puranas.

Then we discuss the reasons for identifying the 'Mitra' coins to be those of the Sunga kings.

(1) Jyesthamitra was undoubtedly the eldest of the eight sons of Agnimitra. His coins at Kosam are associated with those of Bahasati, Asvaghosha and Devamitra. Bahasati was undoubtedly a king of Rajgir and related to the Sungas. Asvaghosha was also a Sunga, as is evident from the names of the Sunga Kings Bhadrachosha, Bhagavata Ghosha, Ghosha & so on. Devamitra might be Devabhumi of the Puranas. Thus the Kosam Kings were Sungas (For Brahmamitra & Gomitra—see below).

The second son of Agnimitra was Vasumitra, known in the Puranas and the *Malavikagnimitram*. He was the second of the 'Vasus', the sons of Agnimitra, if Vasumitra and Jyeshtha are not identified. (Probably the two were identical).

The third of the Vasus was Suryamitra, another son of Agnimitra. We have got his coins associated at Panchala-Kosala with those of Agnimitra, Phalgunimitra, Bhadrachosha, and at Mathura with those of Agnimitra, Asvaghosha and Bhagavata, and at Ahichchatra with those of Brihaspati. All these kings may thus be grouped together as Sunga Kings.

The fourth of the Vasus was Dhruvamitra of the Ahichchatra coins. There he is related to the Sunga kings Agnimitra and Bahasati.

The fifth Vasu was Vayumitra, of the coins of Ayodhya. He is related by these coins with Devamitra of the Sunga dynasty. His name is placed in place of Vasumitra, in some of the Puranas. Hence he might be really a contemporary (a brother) of Vasumitra.

The sixth Vasu was Bhumimitra. He is related to Sunga kings Agnimitra and Bahasati through his coins at Ahichchatra. This Bhumimitra need not be identified with Bhumimitra the Kanva king, as Jayaswal and Raychaudhuri do. The seventh Vasu was Sumitra who is confused in the Puranas with Vasumitra. So he was also a contemporary of Vasumitra. He is associated by his coins at Mathura with Agnimitra, Bhagavata Ghosha and Asvaghosha of the Sunga dynasty. Perhaps the name 'Su' stands for 'Svar' meaning Heaven which was one of the legendary Vasus. Or he might be a son of Vasumitra.

Vishnu, Dharma and Prabhasa are also names of Vasus according to several Puranas. We have got coins of Vishnumitra at Ahichchatra and Mathura. An inscription of Mathura, however, refers to a Vishnu, son of Dharma. It is therefore likely that Agnimitra's remaining son, having the name of a Vasu, was Dharmamitra of the Mathura inscription.

It is also likely that the name of the place 'Pabhosa' arose from Prabhasa which is also one of the legendary Vasus. In that case Agnimitra's one son might have possessed the name 'Prabhāsamitra', for which we have no other proof. This is possible if we identify Vasumitra with Jyeshtha and take Sumitra, as a son of Vasumitra and thus there would be 8 sons of Agnimitra and not 10,

Thus we find that there were 8 sons of Agnimitra having names similar to those of the eight legendary Vasus. Coins of kings bearing these names are found along with those of kings who were undoubtedly Sungas. Hence we may conclude that these sons at first became kings of eight different provinces of the Sunga Empire. Due to some reasons, some of them might later on rule over also their brother's provinces. Thus Jyeshtha ruled at first over Kosam and then also perhaps over Magadha for some time. Dhruvamitra, Suryamitra and Bhumimitra originally ruling in three different places might have been ruling over Ahichchatra as well. Suryamitra ruled in Panchala, Ahichchatra and Mathura. The eight places where the 8 sons of Agnimitra originally ruled were perhaps North Magadha (Pataliputra), South Magadha (Gaya & Rajgir), Kosam, Ayodhya (South Kosala), Ahichchatra (North Kosala), Vidisa, Mathura and Avanti (Ujjain). Perhaps the Punjab was also included in their empire.

The ground for believing the Punjab and Avanti to have been under the Sungas is that the coins of Avanti contain figures of a 'Bull' and 'tree within railing', as we find in the coins of other Mitra kings (Smith's Catalogue of Coins p. 152-54). A coin of Brahmamitra and another of Gomitra (perhaps from Kosam) contain the Ujjain symbol (Smith-Catalogue p. 295). Coins of Bhanumitra have been discovered in the Udumbara region (Kangra district of the Punjab) and the king might be the same as Bhanumitra of the Ahichchatra coins. The Udumbara coin contains figures of a triangular-headed symbol and a snake etc. and an elephant on the reverse (Smith-Catalogue p. 166). The coins of Suryamitra in Panchala contain the triangular headed symbol and those of Agnimitra have figures of snakes on them. Thus the Punjab coins of the Mitra kings are similar to the Panchala coins of the Mitras. The Mitra kings of the Punjab were thus related to the Mitras of Panchala. The Jains associate Pnshyamitra, Agnimitra and Vasumitra with Bhanumitra of Ujjain. (J. B. O. R. S. 1930, p. 259).

(2). The ground for identifying the Mitra kings of Panchala with those of the Sunga dynasty is also found in the coins of Agnimitra and his successors in Panchala. These coins contain the figures of a 'tree within railing, a Sivalingam with two serpents on two sides and two serpents coiled together. These figures undoubtedly represent the Bodhi tree, the Sivalingam in front of it and the Naga-shrine which existed at Bodhgaya in the early Sunga period. Agnimitra being a Sunga from Magadha naturally put down a picture of the holy shrines at Bodhgaya on his coins. His successors in Panchala also followed his footsteps. The Punjab and Avanti coins possessing the figures of a 'Bull' may be explained as being the coins of a king following the 'Dharma' cult which was the principal religion of Bodh Gaya in the pre-Buddhistic and the Sunga periods.. The figures in Avanti Mitra coins of 'tree within rail' are nothing but that of the Bodhi tree, as found on the coins of Panchala kings. Thus the so-called Mitra kings had originally come from Magadha. The kings having names of 'Vasus' also indicate, as already stated, their relation with the greatest religious centre of the Dharma-worshippers viz. Bodhgaya. (see 'The Bodhgaya temple' of the auther of this paper).

(3) The names of many of these Mitra kings are similar to those of the Sunga kings who are not known to all the Puranas but only in some of the Mss. The fact that these names occur only in some Puranas indicate that they ruled not really over Magadha, but were Sungas of other parts of the empire. Thus Jyeshtha, Odraka, Vayumitra, Sumitra, Amogha, Ghosha of the Puranas are known from coins not of Magadha, but of other countries. This shows that those kings were really Sungas, but ruled in other parts of the Empire.

(4) Bahasatimitra is known as a king of Ahichchatra, Kosam and Rajgir and had taken shelter with the king of Uttarapatha (Mathura). The Mathura kings thus become related to the Rajgir and Panchala-Ahichchatra kings. Thus all were Sungas.

(5) These kings were not merely local chiefs, as many of them ruled over a vast area from the Punjab and Ujjain to Kosala and Gaya-Rajgir territories (E.G. Bhanumirta)

Many ruled over Gaya, Ahichchatra & Kosam (Brihaspati). Others ruled over Panchala and Mathura (such as Suryamitra, Vishnumitra, Dhanadeva etc). Brahmamitra was the ruler of many of these centres.

(6) Kings Indraghnimitra of Gaya, Dhanadeva of Ayodhya, Panchala and Mathura, bore the title 'Kosikiputra'. Brahmamitra of Gaya, Kosam and Mathura was related to Indraghnimitra. Bhagabhadra of Besnagar possessed the title of 'Kasiputra'. I do not know if this was really 'Kosiputra'. This title originated from the fact that the kings followed the saptaratra cult, propounded by a sage named 'Kaushika', which was related to the Dharma worship or Sraddha cult of Gaya (Matsya Purana, chs 19 and 20). This title also proves these Mitra kings to be Sungas of Magadha. Panchala also was a great centre of this cult according to the Puranas. The Panchala kings thus naturally assumed this title.

(7) The Ayodhya inscription for Dhanadeva makes him sixth in descent from Pushyamitra and son of Phalgudeva. The Panchala—Kosala coins contain the following names : Agnimitra, Suryamitra, Bhanumitra, Indramitra, and Phalgunimitra. We may arrange these kings in the following order of succession :-

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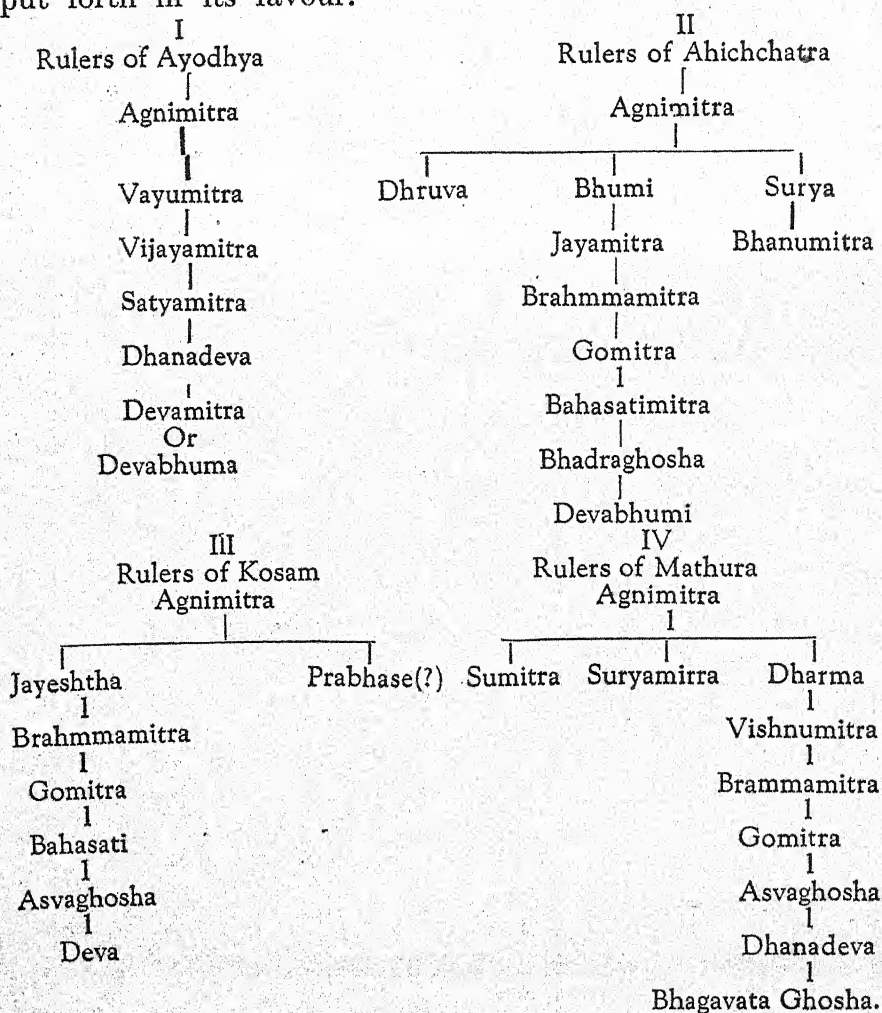
Pushyamitra
|
Agnimitra
|
Suryamitra (one of the vasus)
|
Bhanumitra
|
Indramitra
|
Phalgunimitra
|
Dhanvadeva
|
Devamitra

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Dhanadeva thus was really sixth in descent from Pushyamitra. Suryamitra, as already shown, was one of the 8 vasus, and hence a son of Agnimitra. Bhanumitra has been placed after him due to similarity of names. Indra's son was Phalguni or Arjuna of the Epic. Hence Phalgunimtra has been placed after Indramitra. His son Dhanadeva ruled

over Kosala, Ayodhya and Mathura. Thus Dhanadeva of the Mitra dynasty links up so many Mitra kings with those of the Sunga dynasty.

Then we may give here a tentative chronology of the various Mitra kings in their respective dominions. Many of these kings became rulers of the territories of the other branches of this dynasty, due perhaps to death, failure of natural heirs or by usurpation. The order is based on pure guess work and only in some cases reasons may be put forth in its favour.



V
Rulers of Gaya—Rajgir

Agnimitra

Bhumimitra

Indragnimitra

Amogha

Bahasati

VII

Puniab

1

Bhanumitra

VI

Ujjain

Pushyamitra

Agnimitra

Vasumitra

Bhanumitra

Brahmamitra

Gomitra

VII

Vidisa

1

Bhagabhadra

1

Bhagavata

This genealogy indicates how these kings were not merely local chiefs. Some of the kings like Bahāsatimitra, Brahmamitra and Indragnimitra are sometimes regarded as scious of the Sunga dynasty after its fall and contemporary with the Kanvas. But this view may not be correct. According to the above mentioned genealogy, Bahasatimitra comes before the Kanvas (see Ahichchatra genealogy). Then Kharavela could not have fought with the third Andhra king Sri Satakarni, if Simuka is placed after the Kanvas. In that case either Simuka ruled before the Kanvas or more likely, the Andhra king defeated by Kharavela was not the third Andhra king but some other Satakarni. Such views have been held by previous scholars and do not require further discussion.

It will be found that in the Ahichchatra, Kosam, Mathura and Gaya genealogies, kings Brahmamitra, Gomitra, Bahasatimitra and Asvaghosha have been placed one after the other. In the Mathura genealogy Dhanadeva has been placed after Asvaghosha. Now if Dhanadeva was the son of Phalgunideva (see above) some of the four kings beginning with Brahmamitra become almost contemporary with Phalgunimitra (for the relations between the four kings are not known). Brahmamitra may be placed approximately four generations after Agnimitra and Phalgunimitra was fifth in descent from him (Ayodhya inscription). Phalguni was a boy

when the Bharhut rail was set up. Brahmamitra, and Indraghi were then ruling in other parts of the empire. During their time the Buddhist rails were set up at Bodhgaya. The Bharhut rails were also thus set up almost at the same time or a short time after it. The above genealogy as well as that of Gaya makes Bahasati posterior to the Bodhgaya rails.

From another view point also this view may be supported. Brahmamitra's parents were followers of Brahma Dharma cult of Bodhgaya, as the name of Brahmamitra indicates. From the Panchala coins we find that king Phalgumitra and Bhadrachosha placed on their coins the picture of Bodhgaya as it was before the Buddhist rails were set up at that place. So it was during the time of Brahmamitra and Phalguni that the Bodhgaya and Bharhut rails were set up.

Scholars believe that the Bharhut rail sculptures were in style anterior to those on the Bodhgaya rails. But all admit that the two styles were almost similar, though that of Bodhgaya is a bit more developed. It should be remembered that Bodhgaya being in Magadha where the Maurya style had already made a great progress, naturally possessed better artists. This may explain the advanced style of the Bodhgaya sculptures. The jewelwalk shrine and Bodhi temple figures deputed on Bharhut rails also prove that Bharhut rails were later than the Bodhgaya rail. Thus Bodhgaya and Bharhut rails may be considered to have been erected in the later Sunga period, and the royal founders of those were not the feeble successors of the Sunga dynasty but were rulers of an empire in its heyday of prosperity.

The Sunga kings followed various religions. Pushyamitra and his sons were followers of the Brahmanic faith. But Agnimitra began to follow the Dharma cult of Bodhgaya, and hence perhaps there was a revolt of the Brahmins. Agnimitra's successors continued to follow his religion. Brahmamitra and Indraghimitra became Buddhists. The latest kings like Bhagavata perhaps became followers of the Bhagavata religion, as the name of the king indicates.

“THE APPOINTMENT OF THE FIRST INDIAN
DEPUTY COLLECTOR IN TIRHOOT UNDER THE
RULE OF THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY”
.....(BASED ON MUZAFFARPUR COLLECTORATE
RECORDS)

By

By Surajdeo Narain, M. A. B. L.

The passing of the Charter Act of 1833 was due to various liberal forces which were working in England and India in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Clause 87 of the Act provided that no person, by reason of his birth, creed or colour, should be disqualified from holding any office under the service of The English East India Company. The object of the Act, as we find from the extracts from the despatch accompanying the Government of India Act, 1833, ⁽¹⁾ was “not to ascertain qualification, but to remove disqualification”. Henceforth the principle was accepted that there was to be no governing caste in India and that the inhabitants of the soil were to be ‘admitted to places of trust as freely and extensively as a regard for the due discharge of the function attached to such places will permit’. ⁽²⁾

Under Regulation IX of 1833 provision was made for the appointment of Indian Deputy Collectors and the Sudder Board of Revenue decided that the salary of this office was to be in the first instance Rs. 250- per mensem and Rs. 50- for establishment, ‘the salary to be susceptible of increase under the orders of the Government, dated the 30th September, 1833.’ ⁽³⁾

Inspite of the Regulation and orders passed as a consequence thereof, it took considerable time before the appointment of the first Indian Deputy Collector could be

1. Despatch of the Board of Directors, East India Company, to the Government of India, quoted in Documents and Extracts Illustrative of the British Period of Indian History, Part I. Cal. Univ. Publ., Page 286.
2. ” Do Do Page 287.
3. From Commissioner, Bhagalpur Division, to F. Cardew, Deputy Collector, Tirhoot, 8th October, 1835.

made in Tirhoot. The delay seems to be particularly due to the ill-will and indifference of the local English officers towards the children of the soil. They had a monopoly of the higher posts in the Company's service and the association of the Indians in government service was looked at with disfavour by them. They had no faith in the capacity of the Indian officers though this view does not seem to have been shared by the members of the Board of Revenue as is shown from a letter from the(4) Acting Secretary to the Commissioner, Bhagalpur Division :- ,

"The Board does not coincide in your opinion of the general unfitness of Kanoongoes and Putwarees but think that, subjected to proper management and statutory control on the part of the European authorities, these officers may be made essentially useful in a variety of revenue operations'.

Such being the opinion of the average English local officers about the honesty and efficiency of the Indian officers it was no wonder that when J.E. Wilkinson, Collector,, Tirhoot, was writing a letter to F.Cardew, Deputy Collector, the former was at a loss to know "what duties the Board intend to be entrusted to a native Deputy Collector unless they are settlement duties and for such an additional appointment and such and additional expense I can not see any necessity on the prospect of any commensurate advantage." The strong prejudices which these officers held led them to adopt dilatory tactics and it was only when they were rudely told by the Sudder Board of Revenue 'that not a day should be lost in appointing a native Deputy Collector' that efforts were made to expedite the matter and finally the appointment of the first Indian Deputy Deputy Collector was made in Tirhoot in December of the year 1835, and the order with respect to it was conveyed to the first nominee

4. From H. Brownlow, Acting Secretary to Commissioner. Bhagalpur Division, March, 1835.

From J. E. Wilkinson, Collector, to F. Cardew, Deputy Collector; Tirhoot, 1st June, 1835.

Khaja Aleem Oolla Khan by R.D. Mangles, Secretary (6) to Governor of Bengal, through the Commissioner of the Division.

It would be interesting to refer to some details regarding this appointment. A despatch in the Record Room of the Muzaffarpur Collectorate contains a List of applications for this post under Regulation IX of 1833. In this list there were 21 names to which 9 more seem to have been added at a later date. In all there were 30 applicants for the post whose names with some details are given below :-

Under Reg. IX of 1833)

List of application for native Dy. Collector, Zillah Tirhoot.

- | | |
|--|--------------|
| 1. Mr. David Da Costa, Gya, with | testiimonial |
| 2. " Edw. De Rozario, Tirhoot, | Do |
| 3. " Kishun Kishore Ghose, Banda, | Do |
| 4. " Lalla Manorub Loll, Tirhoot, | Do |
| 5. Mohd. Hossain, Midnapur, | Do |
| 6. Moulvi Khyrat Aally, Patna, | Do |
| 7. Meer Nazem Ally | Do |
| 8. Bhagwandut | Do |
| 9. Dharamchand Ghose | Do |
| 10. A.R. (Sinzah) Desown, Arrah, | Do |
| 11. Francie Shavier, Patna, | Do |
| 12. I.B. D' Souza, Banglore, | Do |
| 13. Beroo Babu, Buxar, | Do |
| 14. Sardar Khan, Allahabad, | Do |
| 15. Gabril Farran, Bareilly, | Do |
| 16. Alexander Pushing, Jaunpore, | Do |
| 17. Sayed Lootf Ally, without testiminials | |
| 18. Thomas Lally, | Do |
| 19. Kali Charan, Patna, with Perwana | |
-
6. From R. D. Mangles, Secretary to the Governor of Bengal, to Khaja Aleem Oolla Khan, Azamgurrh, dated Fort William, the 8th December, 1835.
 7. From J. E. Wilkinson, Collector, to Dy. Collector, Tirhoot, 1st June, 1838.
 8. From J. Cardew to Commissioner, Bhagalpur Division, dated the 26th June, 1835.

20. Sohan Loll, without testimonials, Bhagalpur
21. Juggat Chandra Banerji, with testimoials
22. Tarachand Dutt, Indore, with testimonials
23. Mr. John Lloyd, Bareilly, Do
24. Mr, Kirley, Muzaffarpoor, with testimonials
25. Mr. Johnson, Allahabad, Do
26. Dpolarchand with Do
27. Syed Yaseen Ali without Do
28. Uboo Mohamad Khan Do Do
29. Bahadur Ally of Bihar
30. Mr. W.Palmer of Dinapore

The above list is instructive as it indicates that not only the genuine natives of Bihar and far off distant provinces were candidates for the post but the Portuguese, Englishmen and other Europeans of mixed descent also, who had settled in the country. The applicants hailed from almost all northern provinces and they applied irrespective of 'any creed or colour'. That so many persons applied for post is indicative of the fact that the educated enlightened intelligentsia must have bitterly felt their exclusion from higher rank of Company's services so far. It was henceforth a new opportunity for them which they did not want to miss. To a certain extent proper advertisement of the post might have been responsible for having attracted so many people from outside to apply for it. An interesting feature of the applications is that, as at the present day, most of them were accompanied with testimonials and parwanahs. The insistence on too many testimonials and character-certificates, among other reasons, was a very important factor which led the Indian middle class intelligentsia to flatter the English officials and non-officials alike, and thus to degrade themselves by developing an inferiority complex. On the other hand, the patronising spirit which the practice created demoralised the Englishmen to a great extent. Attempt at testimonial hunting had already started as is shown by a letter of Joseph Peter Dessa to F. Cardew in which he states that Mr. Gough, the Collector of Shahabad, had expressed his willingness 'to grant him a letter of recommendation in order to streng

then his views, in the event of one being required by the government⁹.

From incidental references in the letters and correspondence referred to above and a study of the *Form of the Nomination of the Deputy Collector*, given below, it appears that there were 4 requisite qualifications for a native Deputy Collector. They may be summarised thus :- (a) Knowledge of English, (b) Acquaintance with Persian and Bengalee, (c) experience of revenue work and (d) preferably acquaintance with minutes of village accounts and valuation of lands. We get some detailed references about the information the candidates for the post and the recommending authorities had to supply from a Form of the nomination of the Deputy Collector which is available to us. (10) A person wishing to become a candidate for uncovenanted Deputy Collectorship was required to forward his application containing the information needed in the Form, together with any certificate he might have to produce of good character, former employment, etc.

Form of Nomination of Deputy Collector.

1. Vacant Office
2. How vacant
3. Name of the person nominated with the name of his Father
4. Age
5. Religion and Caste
6. Family Residence, Town or Village, Perganah and Zillah
7. Statement of Past Employment, whether in the service of Government or Individual, if in the service of Government by what officer originally appointed and by whom subsequently promoted.
8. Statement of Land and other property belonging to, and where situated.
9. Proposed Residence and Jurisdiction
 9. From Joseph Pater Dessa (Defsa) of Arrah to F. Cardew, dated the 13th November, 1835.
 10. From the officiating Deputy Collector, Monghyr, to the Collector of Tirhoot, dated 10th March, 1834, making a request for notifying the advertisement for the post of an uncovenanted Deputy Collector at Monghyr.

10. Statement of qualifications and knowledge of the Persian, Bengalee or English languages, etc. etc.
11. Certificate that the Nominee is not disqualified by any Regulation, and General Remarks.
12. Remarks by the Collector.
12. Remarks by the Commissioner.

Among other things of interest in the above *Form of Nomination*, special attention may be given to the fact that the condidates had to submit a statement of land or other property belonging to them with their location. This might have been very useful in judging the character and credentials of an officer against whom any suspicion would arise at a future date, if tht officer had acquired during the period of his servce extensive property or any other material advantage which might not have been possible for him to do with the emoluments of his office. The application for the post had to pass through the Collector and the Commissioner and it was on their remarks and recommendations, with due regard to the qualifictions for the post and experience of past service, that the appointment was finally made -by the government.

The post of the native Deputy Collector in Tirhoot was to be first offered to Khaja Aleem Ollah Khan (whose name does not appear in the list of applicants, given above as he might have applied at a later date or his case might have been considered without application because of some special reasons in his favour) and in case he declined or was not allowed to join it immediately, it was to be offered to Mr. Edw. De Rozario (in the list) and in the event of his declining it F. Cardew, the English Deputy Collector, was asked by the Commissioner to submit another nomination in the prescribed manner immediately. (11)

It appears that both the nominees were written to. The reply of Edw. De. Rozario is available in the local Collectorate. De Rozario was a planter of Turcolia factory, Tirhoot, and he expressed his willingness to accept the offer although he was convinced that the advantages offered

11. From Commissioner, Bhagalpoor Division, to F. Cardew, Dy. Collector, dated the 8th the October; 1835.

for the post were not superior to those of the situation he held as a planter.

The post was finally offered to Khaja Aleem Oollah Khan and he was required to execute on his arrival the declaration prescribed by section 19, Reg. IX, 1833. It is worthwhile quoting below the entire letter of appointment from R.D. Mangles, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, addressed to Khaja Aleem Oollah Khan, Azumghar, dated Fort William, the 8th December, 1835, as it gives us an idea of the terms of appointment and the standard of official conduct which was expected of the Indian Deputy Collector:-

"To,

Khojah Aleem Oollah Khan, Azumghur,

Sir,

I am directed to inform you that the Hon'ble the Governor of Bengal has been pleased to appoint you to be Dy. Collector in Zillah Tirhoot under the provisions of Regulation IX of 1833. Previously to entering upon the discharge of the duties of your situation, you will be pleased to make and subscribe, before the Collector of Tirhoot, the solemn declaration required by section 19 of the above mentioned regulation.

2. By a resolution of Government, dated the 30th September, 1833, your salary has been fixed at 300 rupees per month, including Rupees 50 for office establishment.

3. The Hon'ble the Governor of Bengal trusts that you will discharge with zeal, uprightness, and fidelity, the duties of the high office to which you are hereby appointed, and that by the future uniform tenor of your conduct, you will prove yourself worthy of the confidence which has been reposed in you.

4. You will receive from the Collector of Tirhoot the necessary instructions in taking charge of the duties to which you are appointed.

12. From Edw. De. Rozario, Turcolia Factory, Tirhoot, to F. Cardew, 21st October, 1835.

5. You will be pleased to lose no time in proceeding to join your station where your presence is urgently required.

I am,

Sir,

Fort William,
The 8th December, 1835.

Your most obedient Servant,
R.D. Mangles, Secretary to the
Government of Bengal."

The letter speaks for itself. It is evident from the contents that the members of the Government felt that, with the appointment of an Indian to the post of a Deputy Collector, an uncertain step had been taken and they were not sure with what results the duties of this 'high office' would be discharged. Hence besides the solemn declaration, required under section 19 of the Regulations, the gentleman to whom the post was offered was given a sermon on what his official conduct was expected to be and what were the expectations of the government in this connection.

It does not appear from the records available that Khaja Aleem Oollah Khan joined the post offered. As a matter of fact even the appointing authority had apprehension about it, as it appears from letter from the Commissioner, Bhagalpoor Division, to F. Cardew, referred to above (Ref. No. 11). It envisages the possibility of the Khaja Sahab refusing to accept the post. This might be due to the insufficiency of the emoluments offered or any other reason, known to the authorities. The letter also mentions another possibility—that of the Khaja Sahib 'not being allowed to join it immediately' which indicates that he was already holding a post and it was just possible that he might not be relieved immediately. We have definite evidence that De Rozario, the second choice, about whom mention has already been made at various places in the paper, was offered the post under the orders of government dated the 9th Feb, 1836 and he joined and took charge of office on the 9th March, 1836. It appears from another correspondence that De Rozario had already been appointed at Monghyr the Native Deputy Collector and when he was selected for

13. Letter from Deputy Collector's Office, Tirhoot to J. E. Wilkinson, Collector, of Tirhoot, dated the 30th April, 1836.

Tirhoot, the sanction of the government transferring De Rozario's services from Monghyr to Tirhoot, was obtained and intimation to this effect was sent to the Commissioner in his letter, dated the 18th February, 1836, referred to in a letter from the Deputy Collector, Tirhoot, to J.E. Wilkinson.¹⁴ This letter also mentions that De Rozario was to receive a consolidated allowance of Rs. 300- a month viz. Rs. 250- on account of salary and Rs. 50- for Establishment.

Now it has to be seen what duties were assigned to the Indian Deputy Collector. According to the prevalent feelings among the English officers the native Deputy Collector, if at all suitable for any work, could be entrusted with settlement duties only as mentioned before and this view seems to have been accepted by the authorities of the Company as it appears from a correspondence¹⁵ which is quoted below. It may be noted that this letter is in connection with the appointment of Khaja Alem Oollah Khan.

"You are requested to deliver the enclosed letter from the Secretary to Government, No 1367, dated the 8th instant to Khaja Uleem Oollah Khan....., and you are further requested to inform me at an early date the particular settlement duty you propose entrusting to that individual...."

Thus it is evident that the Native Deputy Collectors had to start with settlement work only in the beginning as there was a strong suspicion in the mind of the officers of the Company regarding the advisability of entrusting the Indians with any other responsible duty.

It would not be out of place to mention that the initial salary of the first Indian Deputy Collector was unthinkably higher than what a Deputy Collector gets at present, particularly when we take into consideration the fact that food-stuffs at about the time with which the paper is concerned

14. From the Dy. Collector, Tirhoot, J. E. Wilkinson, dated the 3rd May, 1836.
15. Faom C. Harding, Commissioner of Revenue, to F. Cardew, dated Commissioner's office, 12th Division, Bhagalpoor, 14th December, 1835.

was sold at a price which appears to be incredibly low, the average¹⁶ price of paddy "at harvest time in five years ending with 1234 Fuslee" in the neighbourhood of Muzaffarpur being "above 3 maunds in a rupee".

16. From Deputy Collector, Tirhoot, to J. E. Wilkinsom, Collector 21st April, 1834:—

The letter mentions—"Rice is the chief product of the country where Roopowlee lies, and the price current at Rupowlee, a thana in the neighbourhood, showed that the average price of rice in the husk and harvest time in five years ending with 1234 Fuslee was above three maunds in a rupee".

THE LOCATION OF SIGERDIS

By S. V. Sohni, I.C.S.

The Indo-Greek expansion in India was described in general terms in a passage from Apollodorus quoted by Strabo (Geog. XI, 516). It contains a brief resume of Indo-Bactrian military activity in India.

"The Greeks who caused the revolt of Bactriana became so powerful by means of the fertility and the advantages of the country, according to Apollodorus of Artemita, that they made themselves masters of Ariana and India. Some of these princes subdued more nations than even Alexander; particularly Menander, who crossing the Hypanis penetrated eastward as far as the Isamus. But though the Greek conquests were chiefly due to Menander, yet they were partly also due to Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, king of Bactria. Thus, they conquered Patalane and advancing along the coast, they subjected the kingdom of Sarioustus and Sigerdis."

Sarioustus is Ptolemy's Surastrene—i.e. Suarashtra. There is no difficulty about that.

But "Sigerdis" had always remained a puzzle.

Rawlinson has stated in his "Bactria":—"What is quite indicated by the kingdom of Sarioustus and Sigerdis it appears impossible to determine", and goes on to guess that "it (i.e. Sigerdis) may have been some minute kingdom i.e. the domain of some petty Rajah, between Patelene and Saurashtra."

According to Tarn, "Appollodorus mentions a second kingdom, also on the coast, that of Sigerdis, as held (imperfect tense, i.e. held for some time) by the Greeks; there must have been another province corresponding to this kingdom, and as it was on the sea it must have lain between Patalene and Surastrene and have included among other things, Cutch; the only alternative would be to place it south of Surastrene, which need not be seriously considered."

It should not be overlooked that even "Sarioustus" had to be restored. The puzzle of Sigerdis can be solved

in precisely the same way as Cunningham had solved the riddle of "Labania", which was originally written as "Albania" and had then made no sense. It is proposed to identify Sigerdis as an accidentally tortured anagram for "Gedrosia" for the following reasons —

- (a) The historian Apollodorus quoted by Strabo belonged to Parthia ; Parthian territory and its neighbourhood were significant to him.
- (b) Sigerdis has been stated to be on the coastline. Gedrosia has been defined as "an extensive district of Asia which is washed on the south by the Indian Ocean" in the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography. In indicating, in a general way, the Greek conquests in India, three big territories were referred to viz. "Patalene", "Sarioustus" and "Sigerdis". "Sigerdis" cannot be, in any case, "some minute kingdom or the domain of some petty rajah" as Rawlinson would have it.
- (c) Both Rawlinson and Tarn would like to put it south of Patalene i.e. Sind. But this assumes a number of points which cannot be held as proved—
 - (1) The concept of the south as a perpendicular progress on the map is a modern notion ;
 - (2) "Advancing along the coastline" did not mean only going from one end to another of that coastline—it could also mean advancing both ways from a central region.
 - (3) As has already been remarked, since such erroneous analysis had compelled Rawlinson to locate his Sigerdis between Sind and Kathiawad, he had to reduce it to small proportions and call it "Some minute kingdom or the domain of some petty rajah."
- (d) A Hellenistic source quoted by Marcianus (Tarn, p. 94) said that Patalene was in Gedrosia.
- (e) Gedrosia had formed part of political India as was then understood. Strabo made a general statement ; and petty things are not mentioned in it.

That Gedrosia has been mis-spelt some times is proved by the following collection of its spellings : The variants are

characters, though very indistinctly¹. The first part of the second inscription, was assigned to 2nd century A.D. by R.D. Banerji²; while the latter part of the first inscription is a little earlier than 1st century B.C. This conclusion is confirmed by two kinds of data made available to us. If we compare *parigahetavam* with *parigrahe* we find that the characters on the eastern side of the railing are slightly earlier than those on the southern side. The second most noteworthy feature is the language employed, while the first is in *prakrit*, the second is in Sanskrit. The Asvaghosha inscription is in *Prakrit*; and extant evidence goes to show that, till the beginning of the Christian era, Sanskrit was not used. With my limited knowledge, I feel that Junagadh Inscription of Rudradaman is the earliest record to use Sanskrit. Before, however, we proceed to evaluate the archaeological evidence, it will be worthwhile to pay some attention to the *sarvvastivadin* sect.

Sarvvastivadins, were one of the 18 schools of Buddhism, and as the name suggests they believed in the existence of everything external and internal³. They were known to Hindu philosophers of a later age as *vaibhasikas*. It is derived from the word *vibhasa* meaning opinion, which is the great commentary compiled sometime after Kanishka's reign. The history of the school practically commences from C.240 B.C., as we find in the *Kathvatthu* few questions directed towards this sect. Till the beginning of the christian era they did not seem to have enjoyed much prominence. By the time that Mathura Lion Capital was inscribed they seem to have been well-placed in Mathura⁴. Next comes the Kharoshthi inscriptions which show that it was an influential sect in the Punjab, Gandhara and Sindh, from the time of Kanishka, if not earlier. Thus the Kanishka Casket inscription tells us that the relics were meant for the acceptance of the Sarvvastivadin teachers (*sarvvastivatina*). In the Zeda inscription of year 11 Hipea

1. Cf. pl. fig. of this paper.

2. R. D. Banerji—*op. cit.*, p. 16.

3. Hastings—*Encyclopedae of Religion and Ethics*: Vol. IX, p. 196.

4. Sten Konow—*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, pt. II, pp. 40-48, A. 15 and 16; F. 1; J. 3, N. 2.

There is a second inscription of his found at Sarnath, but that is very fragmentary¹.

Accidental finds of epigraphs testify to the fact that shortly afterwards, if not coeval with Asvaghosha, the *sarvvastivadin* sect occupied the holy Migadava, and the methods by which they tried to establish their supremacy, apart from throwing light, on the mutual jealousies that governed the relations-between the different schools of Buddhism, considerably heighten the interests of the schools themselves. One of them was found on the Asokan *harmmika*, which was later on removed to enclose a brick stupa, in the southern chapel of the Main Shrine. It would be found on the east side of the railing.

1. "*Achariya nam sarvvastivadinam parigahetavam.*"

"Homage of the elders of the *sarvvastivadin* sect"²
The second inscription occurs on the northern side of the base of the railing :-

2. "*Acharyanam sarvvastivadinam parigarhe*" ,,,

"Homage of the elders of the *sarvvastivadin* sect."³

There is a third inscription on the top of the staircase on the eastern side of the *Dharmmarajika Stupa* found by Babu Sohanlal in 1907-08⁴. It reads :-

„*Achar (ar) yanam sarvvastivadinam parigrahe.*"

"Homage of the elders of the *sarvaastivadin* sect."

The most important feature of the first two records is that in both the instances the commencing words are inscribed after defacing an earlier record; while the latter part *parigrahe* and *parigahetavam* were allowed to exist with the result, that we have in them in the same epigraphs characters of different centuries; while the third inscription was inscribed, after defacing by chisels an earlier record, on the right side of the staircase, (as one ascends it), existence of which was not noticed previously. I am publishing an estampage of it, as it shows some of the

1. *Epi. Indi*, Vol. VIII, p. 172.

2. Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India. 1904-05, p. 68, , late: XXXII, fig. IX.

3. *Ibid.* 1906-07, pl. XXX, fig. IV. and Pl. fig of this paper.

4. *Ibid.* 1907-08, p. 73, pl. XXI fig.

Asvaghosha, we have no recorded information to rely on. For this monarch we have one line commencing from the end of the Mauryan edict. The beginning and the end has been deliberately defaced. The attempt to chisel it being quite clear.

ra parigeho Rano [m]¹ Asvaghoshasya charisa sava-
chhare homata pakhe divase dasame suvithaye.....
....Of Rajan Asvaghosha, in the fortieth year, in the
first fortnight of winter. on the tenth day, for the
good road.....

Dr. Vogel² read no letters after the mention of the date. In 1912 however the late Dr. A. Venis read them as *sutithaye* 4 200 9 and depending on the calculations made by Mr. Chotelal referred it to the so called Malava Vikrama Era³. His reading was challenged by Drs. Fleet and Vogel⁴; who read *sukhathaye* (Fleet) and *suvithaye* (Vogel). I have carefully verified these readings with the original on the pillar and I agree with Dr. Vogel that this is to be read as *suvithaye*. The absurdity of the calculations made by late Mr. Chotelal has already been demonstrated by the late Dr J.F. Fleet and if it is to be read I will make it 172 and when referred to the Malava Era the date comes to 115. But the palaeographic evidence, is pointed out by the late R.D. Banerji, is opposed to such a conclusion⁵.

The identity of Asvaghosha is uncertain, and Dr. Vogel has given good grounds to think that he can not be identified with the great patriarch Asvaghosha; and palaeography makes it impossible to make him a satrap of the Kushana kings. Moreover the inscription on the umbrella staff dedicated by Friar Bala acquaints us with form of honorifics of the Kushana governors and viceroys, *Kshatrapa* and *Mahakshatrapa*. It is doubtful, whether the *Devaputras* and *Kushanaputras*, permitted their consuls and pro-consuls to assume semi-royal dignities. This Asvaghosha ruling as he did in the 1st century B.C., was probably connected with the *Kshatrapas* of Mathura.

1. There is a superfluous *anusvara* sign after n.
2. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, pp. 171ff.
3. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1911, pp. 701-03.
4. *Ibid.* pp. 703-07.
5. R. D. Banerji—*The origin of the Bengali Script*, Calcutta, 1919, p. 18.

addressed to the holy *samgha*.¹ But already in his time, this is what I have long believed, some sectarian tendency had been shown, and the pillar inscriptions were issued to fight these tendencies, and to stamp them out in their embryonic stages, without giving official recognition to these dissenting schools. The orthodox school, on the other hand thinks, since in the *Kathavatthu* an attempt has been made by the President of the Council,² who met at Pataliputra under Asoka's Patronage, to controvert the doctrines of the heretical schools, it is clear that, the schools had already originated at this time. But the author of the *Kathavatthu* does not specify the schools but merely tries to meet the various theses.³ Rhys-Davids says that an analysis of the data leads to the conclusion 'that at the time that *Kathavatthu* was compiled (c.250 B.C.) only a small proportion of the seventeen schools had survived.' Thus we find that two great authorities, Rhys-Davids and Bhandarkar, hold contradictory theories. Any serious discussion of the merits and demerits of these would merely lead us to a different topic; the only point with which we may concern ourselves is that by the time of the Sarnath Special Pillar Edict, Asoka's vision perceived the danger threatening the *samgha*, from sectarian differences, and he tried to avert the danger. It is quite possible that this edict was promulgated after the Council had met at Pataliputra, when it was thought necessary to take some action against the *samghabhedakas*.

After Asoka, the road declines. The disintegration of the Mauryan empire, and usurpation of the throne by Pushyamitra Sunga, brought in an era of militant Hinduism, and as a political necessity perhaps Buddhist monuments were allowed to suffer. The need of fresh integument to the *Dharmmarjika Stupas* at Sarnath and Sanchi prove that. The *ex-voto* records of the Persepolitan capitals, belonging to the late Mauryan epoch, are of little help to us and till we come to the reign of Rajan

1. Bhandarkar-*op-cit.*, pp. 95-97.

2. Moggaliputta Tissa.

3. Mahasanghikas were those who held the ten points objected to by Yasa and to decide which the Council at Vaisali was held.

of the older Brahminical faith were able to stamp it out. The story of division of Buddhas mortal remains, amongst the nations of India, may signify the races inhabiting the homeland of Buddhism—the eastern India. According to the *Divyavadana*, Asoka is reported to have built several thousands of *stupas*, but excavations so far have enabled us to find only few; at Taxila, Sanchi, Sarnath and the Chhatra-Tope near Ramnagar in Bareilly district. With the exception of the Kanakamuni's *stupa* referred to in the Nigliva pillar Inscription; and possibly the Pirawa Stupa, no Pre-Mauryan *stupa* has so far been found in India. The tradition that Asoka dug up old *stupas*, probably imply the need felt in his time, to strengthen the faith in every part of his empire, where the faithful will have some concrete object to worship and venerate. We may therefore conclude that before Asoka's time Buddhism had not such a powerful following, though it was not negligible.

At Sarnath the excavations of the area to the west of the Main Shrine have failed to bring to light antiquities of the pre-Mauryan epoch. Are we to conclude from this that *Migadava* (Sk.*Mrigadava*) was unoccupied? Such conclusions are ruled out by the contents of the special edict. The existence of the monks and nuns in whose *samsalanam* a copy was expected to be kept, implies habitation, though it might have lacked the grandure of the Asokan days. It is not the purpose of the present paper to belittle the achievements of the early Buddhists, but, a proper evaluation has become imperative to appreciate that it was in a small circle that schism had set in, and its prevention was of utmost importance, because, it was inscribed at three different places. What was the nature of this schism? *Mahavamsa* tells us that a Council of the Buddhist elders, the THIRD COUNCIL, was held at Pataliputra in the 18th year of Asoka's reign. At that time the *sangha* was divided into two schools: Theravada and the *Mahasanghikas*. The first was sub-divided into two sects while the second had four sub-divisions. Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar, however, holds that even in Asoka's time the church was undivided, at least the edicts are

Buddha himself had worries about the *samghabhedakas*, and that the matter was very serious is evident from the Sarnath Special Pillar Edict of Asoka ; when he warns the monks and nuns living there about the absurdity of creating schism ¹. If the matter had not been serious, it would have been sufficient merely to warn the faithful, but two aspects of this pillar edict is noteworthy. Unless and until, schism was more pronounced, what purpose there was in inscribing this edict on this particular pillar, as well as on the pillars at Sanchi and Kosam; and what is more what utility could have been served by asking them to keep a copy of it in their *samsalanam*? ² Their place of assembly, by which is probably signified the site of the apsidal temple, the foundations of which were found by Mr. Hargreaves and ascribed to the late Mauryan age. It might have replaced an earlier structure of less durable material. Secondly, the imperial patron had provided for deterrent punishment : *e chum kho bhikhu va bhikhuni va bh [akha] ti s [e] odatani dus [ani] i [sa] mnamdhapayia anavasasi avasayiye* ³....” ³: then a copy of it is to be preserved with the laity too, and on the fast days (*upasatha*), the people were expected to assemble and appreciate the significance of the contents ; as well as the *mahamatras* who were also expected to propagate it in their districts, through their subordinate officers. By *mahamatras* probably the *dharma-mahamatras* are meant, whose creation, and definition of whose functions, are enumerated in R. E. V. ; but here they are not specifically mentioned as such.

To realise the situation, we have to appreciate the condition of the *samgha* upto the time of Sarnath Pillar Edict. The Buddhist church at the time of Gautama-Buddha's death, was certainly not powerful, but, it was well organised, and the germs of future greatness were there. Neither the animosity of the Jains nor the rivalry

1. *Na saki* “*ye kenapi samghe bhejave.....*” Hultzsch—*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. 1, p. 162. Sarnath Special Pillar Edict. D. R. Bhandarkar—*Asoka* (1st edition), p. 338.
2. For different interpretations consult—*Compte Rendu*, 1907, pp. 30ff, Senart's opinion. Venis translates it as ‘place of Assembly’. JPASB. Vol. III, p. 4. Bhandarkar takes it to be sort of ‘*kacheri*’, *op. cit.*, p. 334.
3. Hultzsch—*op. cit.*, p. 162.

SCHISM AND SARNATH

ADRI BANERJI, M. A.

Schism practically commenced with the master's *parinibbana*. After his passing away, Mahakassapa, warned by Subhadda's outbursts, decided to hold a recitation of the *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*¹. This is found in the *Culavagga* as well as in the *Mahaparinibbana Sutta*. The assembled monks then asked Mahakassapa to select the delegates and 499 *arhats* were selected. Ananda seems to have been ignored. The assembly met on Vebhara (Sk. *Vaibhara*) hill, near Rajgir, under the patronage of Ajatasattu. But *Digha-Nikaya* makes no mention of it, and from this Oldenburg opined that, it was a pure invention. This Council is often confused with that held at Vaisali, with 700 monks. But Thomas² gives weighty reasons for disbelieving Oldenburg, asserting that, at the very best it proves that *Culavagga's* mistake lay in connecting the cause of the FIRST Council with Subhadda's outbursts. The assembly of 700 monks at Vaisali is given prominence by the *Mahavamsa* and is generally taken to be true ; but E. J. Thomas has rightly pointed out that, it was the 'Council of Vinaya' held to abrogate certain relaxations allowed by the monks of Vaisali, against which Yasa had protested. The summoning of the First Council had for its prime motive to make known the real *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*, which indicate probably, that the elders felt that the dangers of misinterpretations of the teachings of the master existed, when he had passed away. It was not so serious, however, as it turned out later. It is not our intention here, to consider the origin and development of various schools of Buddhism ; our scope is very limited, being mostly concerned with epigraphic and artistic materials that have been made available to us, which throw light on the actual conditions prevailing at Sarnath, in different centuries—the *Isipatana-Migadaya* of the Pali texts.

1. *Vinaya*, I, P. XXXVII ; and Oldenburg-Buddha, P. 391.

2. E. J. Thomas—*The Life of Buddha*. London, 1931, pp. 165-66.

"Gedrosi" in Pliny VI, 20 ; "Gedrusi" in Pliny VI, 23 ; "Gedrosic" in Curtius IX, 10 ; and Kedrosia in Diodorus XVII, 105.

The confusion or transplantation of letters into Sigerdis may be the work of either the Parthian historian or of some scribe. Dr. Tarn, to whom I had referred this note, is however of the opinion that such confusion was not likely to take place in the work of an author like Strabo who is careful in his statements of details.

That "Sigerdis" really stands for Gedrosia is, if it were correct, a valuable result. Gedrosia and Saurashtra had formed important parts of the Mauryan empire before the Indo-Greek adventurers attacked it on the west. These two provinces were its earliest losses. History repeated itself and the Indo-Greek hold on either province did not last for a very long time. It is interesting to note that Tarn has pointed out that the Greeks according to Strabo's passage held Sigerdis "for some time", only.

That these were gains from the Mauryan Empire is proved by Kalhana's Rajatarangini in narrating events both preceding and during the reign in Kashmir of Asoka's son Jalauka. I have shown elsewhere that it was Demetrius who ruled over Kashmir. It is he who is likely to have conquered Gedrosia as well as Patalene. There was a town called Datamita in Sind i.e. Demetria named after Demetrius. Tarn has observed, "Demetrius himself was responsible for the conquest of Sind". He would concede that it was possible that Demetrius held the eastern part of Gedrosia ; "but if so, it was probably not annexed till after the conquest of Sind."

Thus, it seems to be clear from this analysis that Demetrius who has been mentioned specifically in Strabo's passage had conquered Gedrosia and Patalene i.e. southern Beluchistan and Sind which were then important parts of the Mauryan empire. They were also parts which were lost earliest to the Parthians. That is why the passage speaks of their being held for some time only. This loss of Gedrosia, etc. has been put somewhere about 155 B.C. i.e. at best these provinces could have been held by the Greeks for about 50 years, if not less.

Dhia in digging a well prays for the glory of the school (*sarvastivadati*). In the Kurram Casket Inscription Smedavarman dedicates the alleged remains of Sakyamuni to the teachers of this sect (*sarvativadana*). While the Tor-Dheri Inscription extends the influence of this school upto the Loralai district of Beluchistan¹. Amongst the Brahmi Inscriptions, may be mentioned the Saheth-Maheth Umbrealla Staff Inscription of the *Tripitakacharya* Bhikhu Bala, which records the dedication of an image of Bodhisattva at the *bhagavate-chamakame*, in Sravasti as a gift to the elders of the *sarvastivadin* sect². The Kaman Inscription of the year 74 (which comes to c.152-53 A.D. if it is referred to the Saka era) mentions the dedication of an image of Sakyamuni in the Mihira Vihara by a monk named Nandika for the *sarvastivadin* acharyas³. It is quite clear therefore that there are good grounds for believing that from the time of the Kushana this sect held a prominent sway in northern India. The Council of the Buddhist elders held at Kashmir, under the patronage of Kanishka, was presided over by *sarvastivadin* Vasumitra. Fa-Hien found them in China and Pataliputra; Hiuen-Thsang noticed them in Kashghar, Udayana, Matipura, Kanauj and Rajgir.⁴ In central Asia the late Sir Aurel Stein found some *sarvastivadin* texts. In the eighth century Sankaracharya tried to refute their doctrines⁵. Finally Madhava-charya, in the 16th century, had to deal with the doctrines of the *Vaibhashikas*. Thus a school originating in the third century B.C., had its doctrines recognized till at least 14th century of the Christian era.

An analysis of the archeological evidence leads to same interesting conclusions. The railing in the southern chapel of the Main Shrine was not always there. It was but the *harmmika* of the original *Dharmmarajika Stupa*. In circa. 150 B.C., as the excavations testify, the *stupa*

1. *Ibid*, pp. 137, 145, 155 and 176.

2. *Epi. Indi.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 181-2.

3. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 212. Luders No. 12.

4. See an article by Rhys Davids in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1892, pp. 1-37 and the references.

5. *Sacred Books of the East Series*. Vol. XLVIII, Pt. III, pp. 510-16.

built by Asoka had been sufficiently damaged to have necessitated encasement. The same was the case at Sanchi. So the damaged *harmmika* was brought down and placed around the brick stupa, which still exists with the stump of an umbrella embedded in it. At that time, as the steps built to give access to the *stupa* prove, the ground level was lower than it was when the present *kankar* flooring was laid around the chief shrine. When the present Main Shrine was built arrangements were made to design a special chapel for it. But before that, somewhere between 3rd and 2nd century B.C., the sect holding prominent sway at Sarnath had inscribed their name on the base of the Mauryan railing¹. Still later, the *sarvvasativadin* sect, obtained the control of the holy site, and for some reason they defaced the earlier *ex-voto* record, substituting their name. How do we explain these acts except by sectarian jealousies. With regard to the brick stupa, it is noteworthy that, people, who inscribed their name on the Asokan column, and who utilised the *harmmika* and monolithic steps for a totally different purpose, did not at a later date, when the present Main Shrine was erected, try to do away with these venerable remains, unless it was of special sanctity or an object of great veneration for the Buddhists. The Buddhists like the Hindus never hesitated to use ancient materials for new purposes. The inscribed pillars of many balustrades, that once stood on the holy site, were utilised as lampstands by the faithful at a later date.²

1. It is this early sect who were responsible for the utilisation of the *harmmika* as a railing around the *stupa*; be they, the *theravadins* or the *mahasanghikas*. There seems to have been considerable animosity between them and the *sarvastivadins*. for which they decided to deface their name.
2. D (a) and 16 of Sarnath Museum. These are not the only instances D (i) 6 of the same museum proves utilisation of Gupta pilasters as pediments in mediaeval times; while D (b) 7 show that a later Gupta pilaster was utilised as ceiling slab; and as identical slabs have been used in Ganj-i-Sahidan Mosque, Benares we may infer that it was used in Kumaradevi's temple. There is a Gupta architrave with festoon garlands in the drain from the Main Shrine. Lest however, the theory of utilising ancient fragments are carried too far, I should point out how Mr. A. C. Mukherji, I. S. E., now a Superintending

After the *sarvastivadins* comes the *sammitiya* sect, and Asoka pillar an reads :-

Acha (a) [ri] yyanam parigrahe Vatsiputrikanam.

"Homage of the elders of the Vatsiputriya [sammitiya] sect.

Who were these *Vatsiputriyas*? M. Valee Poussain points out that according to the *Abhi-dhamma-koss-vyakhya* the *sammitiyas* formed a part of the *Vatsiputriyas*;¹ while the tradition preserved in the *Bhinna-nikaya dharmma-chakra* sutra by Vasumitra states that this school originated in the third century after the demise of the Gautama—the Buddha.² From the notice taken of its contents in the *Kathavatthu*, it is clear that, they were known in Asoka's time. The next evidence of their existence is probably this *ex-voto* record. Most criticized view of this school is *pudgalavada*; as this theory entailed a belief in permanence and *atman* which was condemned by Gautama and other schools. There were special rules of discipline, concerning the undergarments, girdle, remedia and beds. Their texts were written in *Apabhramsa*. In the 7th century of the Christian era Hiuen-Tsang found them in large numbers at Sarnath. They were also established at Ahichhatra (modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district), Sankissa in Farruckabad district, and Hayamukha etc. Rajyasri, the queen of the last Maukhari King and sister of Harsha, was a nun of this sect.

These small epigraphs therefore help us to reconstruct the history and conditions of Migadava. *Samgha-bhedakas* were known to Buddha as we have seen before, but the dissentients gathered force within a short time of his death. Asoka, who found schismatic differences serious, held the Council at Pataliputra, and under his patronage two extremely necessary steps were taken

Engineer, Central Public Works Department, told me that in early days the P. W. D. in carrying out conservation to ancient monuments utilised such fragments.

1. Hastings, ERE, Vol. IX, P. 168.

2. *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, Vol. 17, P. 3.

First Moggaliputta Tissa tried to controvert their theories, secondly the special pillar edicts were inscribed at Sarnath and Sanchi etc., with a view to punish the *samghabhedakas*. With the downfall of the Maurya empire, the site was neglected. Greek invaders or visitors established images of provincial Greek divinities, where *tathagauta* had preached. With the passing of Pushyamitra the religious policy of the Sunga Emperors seem to have become more liberal ; and the *Dharmmarajika Stupas* at Sanchi and Sarnath received their first integument. With the conquest of Mathura by Saka satraps, it again seems to have received royal support. Later on contemporaneously with the *Kushanas* the *Sarvastivadins* controlled the holy site, and defaced earlier records. They in their turn were replaced by the *Vatsiputriya-sammitiyas*.

Archaeologically, the era, immediately preceding Asoka, seems to have been barren. It is in the reign of this monarch that principal monuments were established, or to be more correct erected. With the decay of the dynasty, the exotic art, they introduced, made its exit ; and the age has been made remarkable by the rise to prominence of the indigenous school. At first the products were stiff and awkward, the forms stood out perpendicularly from the surrounding mass. But in course of time the modelling gathers force, and a well balanced sense of chiaroscuro heightens their dignity, even real naturalism could be claimed for them.¹ Utilisation of the principal Mauryan monuments, attempts to label these as their own, continued till Kushana times. During this period, that is Kushana regime, attempts were made at fresh benefactions with materials not available locally, consistent with the economic and political position of the empire. How refreshing is the intrusion of the red-sandstone of Karri ; and the red-sandstone image and its huge umbrella with the works of the previous epochs ? With the liquidation of the Kushana empire history repeated itself, and we find Sulakshmana, Vatsiputriyas and Kirtti having recourse to

1. I am informed by Colonel D. H. Gordon, D. S. O., that he arrived at the same conclusion from a study of the Sunga terracottas.

old methods Dutilising earlier remains. We meet with a resurgence of building activities and beneficiaries when the catholic Guptas established their hegemony over the warring princelings of Northern India. No longer, ruins of earlier period brought from their places of neglect to satisfy pious needs. We find again the age old quarries of Chunar, working at its full capacity. Under the enlightened despotism of the Hindus the lonely Migadava, received the deserving attention. Ruins of several monasteries, thousands of sculptures, reliefs and stelae testify to this.

II

In the above section, we have concerned ourselves solely with epigraphic evidence regarding the sectarian history of Sarnath. In the following passages we propose to take up the evidence of the sculptures, whose proper evaluation tend to show gradual evolution brought about in Buddhist ritual and worship by imperceptible influences. It is only when the court art of the Maurya empire made its exit, and indigenous art makes its reappearance, when the craftsmen after overcoming difficulties of material, again went on embellishing different architectural members with their free fantasies, that the first fundamental feature of early Buddhist church art is perceived: it is the absence of the figural representation of the master. Sarnath, very happily, has furnished us with portrait heads of kings (?) or warriors, but the image of the Master is conspicuous by its absence. In the *alamvanas* (the coping stones) we find the stupa being worshipped by men and mythological animals¹. Foucher's researches have shown that his presence was indicated by symbols;² the master's figure being significantly absent. From this we may rightly assume that the Buddhists had traditional objection to the representation of the master. This continues till the Christian era.

The year 81 A.D. is memorable to Sarnath for a significant change. In this year Friar Bala established a

1. 90 N., and D (a) 40 and 43 of Sarnath Museum.

2. A. Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*.

red-sandstone image of Bodhisattva at the lord's *chamkama*¹. This is significant, because it shows that in Bala's time, tradition held that a certain spot at Sarnath was the *chamkama* (that is he used to go and come back in a straight line).² The image too was found in the area between *Dharmmarajika Stupa* and the Main Shrine, the name of which *Vihara* was *Mulagandhakuti*. By which it was implied that the temple occupied the site of the first hut in which the Buddha spent the first *vassa* (monsoon) at Migadava, his first abode after renunciation. More than that, it was the image of a Bodhisattva and not that of Buddha, which shows that, inspite of the evolutionary processes at work, the pious monk could not call it a full fledged Buddha image. Religious orthodoxy dies hard. The earliest known specimen which is called the Buddha image is that found at Mankuwar in 129 G. E. (448-49 A.D.).

From the 5th century of the Christian era, the Benares artists created a new type of Buddha image. It was a plain figure sitting or standing in *abhaya mudra* with the *sanghati* either covering one shoulder or both. The drapery was diaphanous and the hems were left raised. The palms had a soft cushion like appearance with lines clearly indicated. The head, including the protuberance of the skull, was covered with curls turning to the right. The *urna* was invariably absent in the Benares school. The most significant departure was the absence of the folds of the drapery, as in earlier schools, which was probably due to Hellenistic influences. When the Bala image was made the art of Mathura had already come in contact with Indo-Hellenistic art. The Kushanas came through Bactria and Afghanistan, after conquering Greek Kingdoms. In Gandhar the images had the folds arranged in reliefs.³ At Mathura the torso was generally left plain and the indications.

1. *Baranasiye bhagavato chamkame* (EI., Vol. VIII., P. 176.) Bala makes an ideptical claim in the Umbrella staff Inscription of Sravasti. Was *Jetavanarama* the second *gandhakuti*?
2. The level seems to have been disturbed; it was found above the concrete terrace. The tradition though noteworthy is unreliable.
3. For origin and drvelopment of Greek drapery cf. Ridder & Deonna, *Art in Greece*, pp. 220-36.

of the fold were generally indicated upto the arm-pit, while at Sarnath it was a simple garment falling smoothly over the body without any folds. This type of image at one time made a greater appeal to the Buddhist world and is found at Ajanta Cave No. XIX, at Nalanda and in the countries of Greater India. The drapery and modelling of Borobudur Buddha show Sarnath's influence, while several fragments noticed by Salmony prove that it extended upto Thailand¹. In describing the Bronze torso from Sukhothai Salmony was touched by its difference from the lower Indian examples, and by the 'unusually bold treatment of the drapery which stands out from the body like wings'..... 'for all that, the modelling of the leg and the fold has the free fantasiy on Gupta motif'. But what he failed to point out is the exact source of inspiration. At first the art in India shows an economy of *mudras*, the earliest of which is *abhaya*, but in the classical age of Indian antiquity, we find it completely overcome by several types : the *bhumisparsa*, *dharm-machakra* and the *varada*.

In the last part of the fifth century and beginning of the sixth century the Mahayana images first begin to appear in Migadava. By this, the possibility of their earlier appearance, here as well as elsewhere, is not ruled out. But as evidence stands at present, the image of Bodhisattva-Padmapani (Lokanatha ?) with its lithe grace and hems of the upper garment arranged in a series of superimposed fishtails, happens to be the earliest². To this group can be added the image of Bhrikuti Tara, which shows a remarkable freedom from later embellishments. Later on came the fine image of Maitreya, the future Buddha³, Vajrapani-Bodhisattva⁴, Manju-Sri Siddhaikavira⁵. All these got to show that the holy place was becoming the stronghold of Mahayana Buddhism. The germs of Mahayanistic tendency is probably to be found as early as c. 240 B.C. in *Kathavatthu*⁶.

1. A Salmony *Sculpture in Siam*, plates 9.10.17 and 24 (a) and (b).
2. B. Malumdar, *Guide to Sarnath*, pl.—xi, fig. 6.
3. Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1904—05, pl. xxviii, fig. (c) and (d).
4. *Ibid.*, 1918-19, pl. ix, fig. (a).
5. *Ibid.*, 1904-05, Pl. xxviii, fig. d.
6. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, 1909, p. 199.

But it comes to the front with the Council held at Kashmir by Kanishka. The difference between *Hinayana* and *Mahayana* are fundamental ; yet, *Mahayana* accepted the old teaching and was based upon it. Hinayanists are keen upon obtaining salvation for themselves, while Mahayanists are supposed to be endeavouring to liberate all created beings. *Mahayana* put the ideal of arhatship in the background and Bodhisattvahood in the forefront. As the Bodhisattva theory gained grounds not only imaginary beings, but prominent teachers or leaders of different school of thought were regarded as Bodhisattvas. In this category comes Nagarjuna. The second factor that brought about this change is its extreme elasticity and adaptability. Buddhism, we know, after originating in India, in course of time, crossed all racial frontiers-went and conquered inhospitable regions of Central Asia, Afghanistan, and Tibet ; it conquered the intellectual Chinese ; from China it went to Korea. In the south it spread amongst the tropical jungles of Siam, Cambodia, Sumatra, Bali, Borneo, Java etc. But wherever it went it was transformed by national sentiments, or existing creeds and philosophies. Need it therefore occasion surprise that, in their homeland, a gradual change would be forthcoming in their ritual. Buddha himself had commanded that extremities should be eschewed. The divisions into various schools, and exchange of arhatship for mass Bodhisattvahood, had fertilised the ground for further logical developments. The people seldom change their habits and thoughts even when they are converted. How do we explain the occurrence of the cult of the Pippal (*ficus religiosa*) tree and the custom of enclosing the sacred areas and object with railings, in Buddhism ; which, we find, to have been the cultural traits of the people of the Indus Valley, milleniums before the birth of Buddha ?

Late in the Christian era, therefore, we find an attempt made to introduce the older religious beliefs of Hinduism into Buddhism. According to Rhys Davids, one of the chief agents of this new type of Buddhism was Asanga, a monk of Peshawar, who wrote the first textbook of the *Yoga-chara* school—*Yoga-chara-bhumi-sastra*, about the

sixth century of the Christian era¹. This new form of Buddhism, whose origin still remains a point, is known as *mantrayana* or *vajrayana* and at one time caught the imagination of the millions throughout the length and breadth of India. Its commencing stages are still unknown. The extant manuscripts are later than the images, the actual objects of worship and ritual. Thus the only inference possible is, that the tradition might have been handed down from preceptor to disciple in secret and these might have been written down at a later date. Another possible explanation is that the earlier manuscripts have not survived the ravages of time and political vicissitudes, through which the country has passed; the copies from which our information was derived were later ones, when this type of esoteric Buddhism reached Nepal and Tibet. The first scholar who introduced to us this type of Buddhism is Mon. A. Foucher in his work entitled *Etude sur l'iconographie Boudhique de le Inde*. At Sarnath, till 10th century of the Christian era, *Vajrayana* images were not prolific. It is after this century that this school of Buddhism completely overshadowed earlier schools and got the control of the holy site. The images of the *Sakyamuni* were seldom dedicated at Sarnath, while hundreds of images of Bodhisattvas, etc., testify to the extreme hold enjoyed by them over popular imagination and how influential they were. Amongst the best instances of this class of images is that of *Khasarpana*: *Lokesvara*² *Heruka*,³ the images of various Taras, *Shadakshi* *Lokesvara* and single figures of his *sakti*,⁴ which I believe to be the most unique possessions of Sarnath Museum. Two particular forms of *Vajrayana* worship may be noted. First was the cult of Tara, which enjoyed certain predominance here, evident from the large number of images of this divinity found in the excavations. Amongst these the

1. "He managed with great dexterity to reconcile the two opposing systems by placing a number of Saivite gods in the pantheon of this new Buddhism, and by incorporating into it a great deal of mystic *tantrik* doctrine from the prevalent animism." T. W. Rhys Davids- *Buddhism*, p. 207.
2. A. R., A. S. I.; 1907-08, Pl. XVII, fig. a.
3. *Ibid*, 1906-07, pl. XXIII, fig. 11; and plate XXVI, fig. 4.
4. *Ibid*, 1904-05, Pl. XXXI, fig. d.

most important is the fragmentary image of Vajra-Tara,¹ which is another unique possession of Sarnath Museum. Secondly *tantrik* practices led to the establishment of Hindu *tantrik* shrines.

Thus we find the whole scene unfolding before us, since the day when Gautama preached the first sermon. Since that day different schools one after another occupied the holy site, and left their stamp on it, until the original teaching of the 'master' was completely lost sight of, and a large number of gods and goddesses was created from prevalent cults to satisfy the morbid piety of a degenerate people. The obscenities to which this type of Buddhists were addicted have been eloquently described by Raja Rajendralal Mitter and B. Bhattacharya.²

1. *Ibid.*, 1904-05, p. 57, fig. II.

2. B. Bhattacharya—*Sadhanamala* (Gaekwad Oriental Series), Vol. III, p. 6.

KHANDIKA AND KALINGA

By S. V. SOHONI, I. C. S.

In his article 'The Geographical Identification of Khandika and Khendagiri', that Dr. Agarwala has remarked "the name of the Khandika country in association with Kalinga seems to contain a reference to that part of Orissa in which the hills still bearing the generic name of Khendagiri are situated". The precise nature of this association, must be explored.

It must not be overlooked that Khendagiri's ancient name was not Khendagiri, but "Kumara Parvata"; and that of Udayagiri (which contains the Hatigumpha inscription of Kharvela) was "Kumari Parvata".

Thus drawing an immediate connection between Khendagiri and Khandika would look somewhat difficult—particularly in absence of other independent evidence to the effect that this hill was then called Khendagiri as well as Kumara Parvata. Accordingly, I made further enquiries from Dr. Agarwala. He pointed out that there was no contradiction in there being two names; one in Jain geography applied to more restricted area and the other being of a general application. The one which was of wider use alone survived. He further stated that this was quite commonly found in the Himalayas. One general name was given to a range; and particular names were given to particular peaks or parts of the same range.

He also observed that from hundreds of geographical illustrations in the Mahabhasya, the style of Patanjali was very well known. Patanjali refers to geographical pairs in his illustrations. Thus Khandika was associated with Kalinga. Dr. Agarwala holds that this is sufficient proof that Khandika was "a geographical place name in Kalinga". As pointed out earlier, granted that there was a region styled Khandika near

Kalinga, or as Dr. Agarwala would have it, *in* Kalinga, more evidence is required to justify a conclusion that this region was that around the hill known in the modern days as Khandagiri.

1. Journal of Kalinga Historical Research Society, Vol. I, No. 3, pages 241-242.
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A STUDY OF THE WORD 'BRAHMAN'

By BUDDHA PRAKASH, M. A., L. L. B.

In Sanskrit the word 'Brahman' signifies the supreme being regarded as impersonal and divested of all qualities or actions. It is the greatest and holiest designation of divinity and figuratively suggests everything that is sacred, divine and religious. It means the sacred texts, the Vedas, a hymn of praise¹, a person who specialises in the sacred texts and attends to the religious needs of man² and the virtues and qualities of celibacy and chastity associated with such a person. But the word 'brahman' denotes a particular section of the Vedic texts, that which relates to charms, spells and exorcisms. 'Brahmaveda' is particularly the Atharvaveda, which mainly consists of sorcery and witchcraft. 'Brahmarpana' is also the name of a spell. Hence F. E. Pargiter holds that "the original thing denoted by Brahman was the magical power whether incantation, charm or what not by which a man could exert influence over all natural and supernatural beings"³. This view is supported by the fact that the epithets of Vashistha include 'atharva-namnidhih', 'brahmakosha' and 'Shata-yatu', which synonymously mean "proficient in magic"⁴. In the *Rigveda* (VII, 104, 15-16) Vashistha is called a 'yatu-dhana', which was later on the title of the *rakshasas*. Like the Vashisthas the Angirases were associated with an aggressive practice of spells or 'Kritya' as is known from the *Atharvaveda*⁵. Thus it appears that 'Brahman' signified some magical power and the persons who professed and practised it were known as

1. *Rigveda* VII, 28, 1 ब्रह्मण इन्द्रोष याहि विद्वानवन्विस्ते हरयः सन्तु युक्ताः ।
2. *Rigveda* II, 12, 6. यो रभस्य चोदितः यः कृशस्य यो ब्रह्मणो नाशमानस्य कोरेः ।
3. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, PP. 319 - 20.
4. *Brihannaradiya* VIII, 63, *Nirukta* VI, 30 *Vashisthasmriti* XXX, 11, *Rigveda* VII, 18, 21 MacDonnell & Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, P. 49, Vol. II P. 352
5. *Atharvaveda* VIII, 5, 9 कृत्या आगिरसीः ।
Ibid X, 1, 1, 6 प्रतीचीन आगिरसोऽध्यक्षो नः पुरोहिताः॥ प्रतीचीः कृत्या अकृत्याम्न कृत्या कृतो जहि ॥

Brahmanas. In my paper on *Vritra* I have shown that the Brahmanas were the pre-Aryan priests of India and were identical with the Vritras who fought against the Aryans. But Indian literature gives no hint as to the precise import of this word. Hence we have to search the Iranian literature for a clue of the correct meaning of this word.

In the Persepolis inscription No. 8 of Xerxes the word 'brahman' occurs as 'brazman' in the phrase 'artaca brazmaniy' meaning 'divine fulfilments'. In this inscription, Xerxes says that "where formerly the Daivas (Devas) were worshipped, there I worshipped Ahurmazda and the divine fulfilments"⁷. In this passage Xerxes uses the word 'brazman' or 'brahman' or 'divine' in association with the god Ahurmazda and in contradistinction to the devas or the gods of the Indians. This shows that the word 'brahman' was not peculiar to India alone; it was common in Iran also and was used in a sense which had nothing to do with India. This was an indigenous word of the Iranians and was used in the Avesta as 'baresman'.

In the Avesta the 'baresman' forms part of the paraphernalia of an athravan. He holds it in one hand and the Khrafstraghna for killing ants and snakes in the other. It is a bundle of sacred twigs, uneven in number—five, seven or nine—which is used in rituals. Most probably they were divining rods, which a priest had always to bear

6. Expected to be shortly published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona*.

7. yadaya paruvam daiva ayadiy avada adam a (h) uramazdam ayadaiy artaca brazmaniy. Its Sanskrit version is as follows:

यत्नं पूर्वं देवाः ब्रह्मणि ब्रह्मन् (अधुना) ब्रह्मं ब्रह्मरूपेण समन्वये ब्रह्मत्वात् ब्रह्मणे ।

[Sukumar Sen : *Old Persian Inscriptions* (Calcutta University), Page 149]

8. The voiced palatal spirant 'Z' is a remnant of the old Indo-European speech which survives in some archaic words of the Iranian language. Usually the practice was to replace this difficult sound by a simple aspirate or 'h'. But in Babylonian script this spirant was written as 's'. Hence in some usages it was replaced by 's' instead of 'h' e. g. in the word 'Sindhu' & (old Indo-European Zindu, old Iranian Zind, modern Persian, Zindah, Zindagi) 'Sasan' (old Iranian, Zasan). In Indo-Aryan both 'h' & 's' are used for 'z'.

in his hand when he appeared in public. Its importance is manifest from many passages of the Avesta. In *Vandidad* III Zarathushtra asks of Ahurmazda, "which is the first place where the earth feels most happy?" and he replies "it is the place whereon one of the faithful steps forward with the holy wood in his hand, the baresman, the holy meat, the holy mortar, fulfilling the law with love." The 'baresman' was Turanian in origin and was in vogue among the priests of old Babylonia and Assyria. All Turanian peoples used these rods to keep away the evil spirits in sacrifices and religious performances. There are many representations of them on Assyrian sculptures. In scenes of worship and sacrifice a bundle of uneven twigs tied together with a ribbon is depicted as lying on the altar.⁹ Thus it appears that the baresman was used by the Mesopotamian peoples before the advent of the Aryans who learnt it from them and included it in their religious paraphernalia.

In this respect, it is significant to observe that one of the meanings of the word 'brahman' in Sanskrit is the wood of the mulberry tree. The words 'brahma-Kastha', 'brahmadaru', 'brahmastha', 'brahmasthana', 'brahmanya', 'brahmabhaga' and 'brahmabija' signify the mulberry tree; the words 'brahmanetri' and 'brahmavriksha' mean the palasha (*butea frondosa*) and udumbara (*ficus glomerata*) trees; the wood 'brahmapavitra' is the name of the kusha grass; the word 'brahma-mekhala' denotes the munja plant; the word 'brahmanya' designates the palm tree and the word 'brahma-riti' shows a kind of grass¹⁰. The association of the word 'brahman' with these trees and plants lends colour to the view that originally this word denoted them and that it is the same as the word 'baresman' of old Iranian which, as we have seen, means a "bundle of sacred twigs." In India also the priests carry a wooden ladle, called 'shruva'. It is shaped to the likeness of a hand and is called the hand of brahman. It is used for pouring oblations into the sacrificial fire. This 'shruva' reminds one of the 'baresman' of Avestan religion.

9. Zenaide A Ragozin : *Media, Babylon & Persia*, PP. 139 - 140.

10. V. S. Apte : *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, P. 705.

Originally the twigs for the 'baresman' were to be cut, with certain ceremonies, from either a tamarind or a pomegranate tree or any tree that had no thorns. Modern Parsis have substituted flexible rods of brass-ware for the wooden twigs. In this connection it is very significant to note that one of the connotations of the word "brahman" in Sanskrit is brass. 'Brahmani' is a kind of brass and 'brahmavardhana' means copper." This shows that the baresman began to be made of brass in course of time and the word 'brahman' in consequence became a synonym of brass.

One other meaning of the word 'brahman' deserves special attention. With the suffix 'an' the word 'brahman' 'brahma' as it becomes, means the part of the hand under the root of the thumb. The reason of this connotation seems to be that the baresman rested in the hand under the root of the thumb. Therefore, this part of the hand came to be known as 'brahma' in course of time.

Thus we observe that the word 'brahman' is the same as 'baresman' and originally meant a bundle of sacred twigs and later on brass-rods, which were used as divining-rods in ancient Babylonia and Assyria as a result of the influence of the Turanians ~~and~~ ^{as} were adopted therefrom by the Aryans of Iran ~~and~~ ^{as} of India. Since 'baresman' or 'brahman' was associated with spells it came to signify the mysterious utterances like 'Om', which were believed to have magic powers. A Brahmana was a man who dealt in this magic, the symbol and implement of which was the sacred rod, baresman. In this way the word 'brahman' links culture of India with that of Iran and Mesopotamia.

11. V. S., Apte., *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, P. 707.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

1. A Mahodaya Art Souvenir of "Theertha" and "Varna", from the Immortal Bhoja Royal House of the 11th Century, 9th February, 1948, Mahodaya Day. By M.K. Ranganathan, Chief Engineer, P.W.D. (Retired), B.N.K. Press, Madras PP. 42 with 4 Plates, 2 Maps, and 2 Charts. Price not mentioned.

King Bhoja Paramara was a famous ruler of Malwa in the 11th century, distinguished for his conquests, successful government and versatile scholarship, patronage of arts and letters and construction of public works of utility (ch.1). The author states that Bhoja's university at Dhara (Temple of Saraswati) was converted into the Kamal Mauli mosque in the 15th century, and that the slabs of the *mihrah* contained two long inscriptions and several fragments; the first is a single-snake alphabetical inscription, the second is a two-snake grammatical inscription, indicating the methods of teaching Sanskrit (ch.2). We learn also that the king built a lake or saras, a marvel of engineering skill, in the region of the headquarters of the Betwa, nearly 20 miles from Bhopal, and that the dam on it was demolished by Shah Husain Sultan of Mandu(ch.3). The social and religious life in the time of Bhoja is sought to be studied in ch.4. The author, a retired Engineer, pleads for the restoration of these two mounments of King Bhoja, the "Theertha" or Bhojpur lake and the "Varna" or the University College of Dhara (ch.5).

But this booklet does not seem to be a dispassionate research study of the achievements of Bhoja. It is a tissue of quotations from various authors, whose names have not been acknowledged though the author, in a general way in a postscript admits, at the end of the work, that the contents "are mostly extracted from various old literature and recent research publications" and that the books of reference were suggested and procured by Dr. V.Raghavan of Sanskrit Department, Madras University

There are a few printing errors, but the printing and paper is good.

2. Origin and spread of the Tamils. By V.R. Ramchandra Dikshitar, M.A. The Adyar Library Series No. 58.1947. Price Rs. 3.8.0.PP.110.

In this booklet, covering two lectures delivered in 1940 under the Sankara Parvati endowment, University of Madras, the author has challenged the current opinion of both Indian and Western scholars that the Dravidians were a section of the Mediterranean race and has shown that "the Tamils were the original inhabitants of the land, who had not only evolved an independent culture of their own which is generally known as Dravidian", but handed it down to "succeeding generations in the East as well as in the West." In lecture I arguments based on geological, ethnic, linguistic, philological and archaeological evidence have been adduced to support the thesis. Some of the points of his conclusion are that "South India must have pre-paleolithic peoples who were the aboriginals and sons of the soil", "who were the forefathers of the Tamils", that "the so-called mediterranean race had its origin in Peninsular India, which was a part of the original Dravidian home" and that "the Dravidian element is not to be found in Indian culture alone but is largely traceable in Cretan, Aegean, sumerian, Babylonian, Egyptian, Polynesian and other cultures of ancient world". The matter is highly controversial but the author has discussed the various authorities with commendable lucidity and freshness, and has pleaded for extensive archaeological excavations in South India.

In Lecture II the author has examined the cultural drifts from and into South India from pre-historic times. He has especially referred to South India's contact with Mesopotamia, Arabia, Rome, the Malay Archipelago, Polynesia and Malaysia, China and Ceyon. Much of the information given is already well-known but the author has given a new angle of vision to these known facts. He has shown the affinities and similarities between the institutions of South India and of the civilised world, e.g. the arts and

crafts (fishing craft, methods of irrigation, use of metal pottery, terracotta, beads, seals, ornaments and wood), religious and social systems of the Indus valley, Sumeria, Egypt, Crete and other ancient cultures (worship of mother goddess, offering of hair, fire-walking ceremonies, Snake cult, worship of moon, cult of the bull, Phallic cult). The author supplies as he says, "an eloquent testimony of the fundamental unity of South Indian culture", which, while drawing from other cultures, is still a live force.

The book is instructive, not only for general readers but also for students of Ancient World. The copious notes and Index add to the usefulness of the book. The get-up is good in these days of paper and printing difficulties.

J. N. Sarkar.

1. INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS.

Vol.III: 1917-1939. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Dr. Anil Chandra Banerjee, M.A., P.R.S., Ph. D., Lecturer in history, Calcutta University. Second Edition, 1949. A. Mukherjee & Co. Ltd., 2 college Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 12/- only.

Indian Constitutional History is a subject of absorbing interest at the present moment, for the future constitution of India is in the making. In this comprehensive work the Editor has collected all important documents relating to the developemnt of Indian Constitution during the period 1917-1939. He has not confined his attention to great legislative enactments like the Goveernment of India Acts of 1919 and 1935. He has collected documents of various types including speeches, despatches and resolutions of political organisations. One of the most interesting features of the book is a collection of documents relating to the Indian States. Notes and references have been added to explain the documents, and a brief *Introduction* surveys the broad features of Indian Constituitional History during the period. It is an indispensable source book for every student of modern Indian History and every one who is interested in India's constitutional evolution.

2. ANGLO-SIKH RELATIONS. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Dr. Anil Chandra Banerjee, M.A. P.R.S.,

Ph.D. Lecturer in History, Calcutta University. First Edition, 1949. A.Mukherjee & Co. Ltd., 2 College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 8/- only.

Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs* will always remain a classic, for he was a faithful and conscientious historian who knew his subject well. His chapters on the Gurus and the Sikh War of Independence in the eighteenth century are inadequate and out of date, for in his days original sources relating to that period were in many cases not available or properly understood. But Cunningham was thoroughly familiar with official correspondence relating to Anglo-Sikh friendship and hostility, and he knew some of the actors who played leading part in the last act of the Sikh drama. As a British officer he was, of course, loyal to his country and his government; but he understood and sympathised with the Sikh point of view. For all these reasons Cunningham's chapters on Anglo-Sikh relations have a permanent value.

Here is a reprint of those chapters in a very convenient form. The Editor has added a very useful and interesting *Introduction* dealing with the following topics: (1) Sikhism and the Medieval Reformation (portions of which were published in this journal). (2) Sikhs and Mughals. (3) Sikhs and Afghans. (4) Sikhs and Marathas. (5) Sikh Organisation. (6) Fall of the Sikhs. An excellent Map has been added to illustrate the text.

K. K. Datta.

India's March To Freedom by Dr. K.K. Datta, Orient Longmans Ltd., Calcutta, Price Re.1/-

In this booklet the author has presented within a short compass of fiftyseven pages the history of India's journey along the road to freedom amidst many thorns and hurdles. The formation of the first Congress ministries in some provinces in 1937 has been taken as the starting point of the march, and the sounding of the cease-fire in Kashmir on 1st January, 1949, as the end. The various processes and methods through which India's independence, "one of the most marvellous events in the history of the

modern world", has been achieved, are discussed carefully on the basis of constitutional documents, relevant correspondence and speeches, and writings in contemporary journals, newspapers and other works. The effects of several international factors and world forces on recent political developments in this country have been noted alongside the influence of internal politics. The constitutional deadlock as sequel to the Second World War in 1939, the Cripp's offer of 1942, the Wavell plan, the work of the Cabinet Mission, and the Constituent Assembly and the final transfer of power to the Indians on 15th August, 1947, have not only been made interesting to the reader, but will be able to inspire many to read the history of a nation that has struggled heroically in its onward march towards political emancipation. The book contains a wealth of information; the author's style is attractive, and his judgment impartial and correct. The problem of the Indian States is dealt with thoroughly and has been brought up to date. Though short, the work which is unique of its kind will be highly useful to the general public as well as to students of contemporary history. The paper, printing and get up of the booklet are quite agreeable.

Hari Ranjan Ghosal.

1. Coins of Marwar (from 400 B.C. to 1945 A.D.). By Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, and Sumer Public Library, Jodhpur. Printed at the Jodhpur Government Press. 1946.

This is a useful and informative brochure describing the different types of Coins which formed the currency of Marwar from ancient to modern times. The author claims to have dealt with the subject more 'elaborately and correctly' than the other works in the field, much as those by the Secretary, Musahib Ala, Jodhpur State and Munshi Devi Prasad, by William Wilfrid Webb and John Allan.

The author gives a general history of the coins of Marwar beginning with the Punch-marked coins and the

'Drammas' of the Western Satraps, the Gupta coins, the Gadhiya or Gadhaiya coins of the post-Huna period, the coins of the Pratihara Bhoja, and of the Chauhans, the Arab invaders, and of the Delhi Sultans and of the Sultans of Jaunpur and Malwa. He challenges the view of Col.Tod and Mr. Webb and shows that Bijaishahi rupees were struck in 1780 A.D. by Maharaja Bijai Singh with the permission of Shah Alam II. After the latter's death in 1806, the name of his successor, Muhammad Akbar Shah, was inscribed on the coins. The names of sovereigns of England were introduced from 1859.

After giving the special features of the coins, the author has described the mints of Marwar, e.g. Nagaur, Jodhpur, Pali, Sojat and Merta, and has given several inscriptions on some of the gold, silver and copper coins of Marwar, and then described the Iktisanda coins of Kuchaman, a town in Sambhar Pargana of Marwar. All the coins illustrated in this brochure except one belong to the Coin Cabinet in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur. There are three appendices and five plates. The errata does not cover all printing mistakes.

2. Andhra University Series No. 32: A Forgotten Chapter of Andhra History (History of the Musunuri Nayak). By M.Somasekhara Sarma, Department of History, Economics and Politics, Andhra University, Ananda Press, Madras, 1945.Price Rs. 2.PP viii 136.

This book surveys the history of the Andhras and of the Andhradesa in the 14th century. It shows how after the fall of the Kakatiyas of Warangal(1323) before the Muhammadan power, a movement for Hindu revival grew up under the leadership of Prolaya Nayaka of the Musunuri family who held the coastal Andhra country as an independent ruler. The reconquest of upland Telingana or Warangal was the result of the Co-operation of the Araviti and the Reddi chiefs and the Hoysalas, and the leader of the rebellion in Tellingana was Kapaya Nayaka. This was followed by the revolt at Kampili also organised by its governor Harihara. The reign of Kapaya Nayaka the lord of the Andhra country was however disturbed by the activities of the Recerla princes. Out of consideration

of expediency Kapaya Nayaka helped the Amiran-i-sadat or the centurions in their revolt against Muhammad Tughlak. But the eventual establishment of the Bahmani Kingdom proved to be a source of danger to Kapaya Nayaka. In the meantime the Recerla princes became sufficiently strong to defy Kapaya Nayaka's authority and ultimately, about 1367-68 he was defeated by Anavota Nayaka, the Recerla prince.

The author has utilised besides indigenous literature and Persian chronicles, epigraphic records and coins, which have enabled him as he claims to correct the version of the Muslim historians like Ziyauddin Barani and Ferishta. The value of the work is enhanced by an index and five appendices. Three give the texts of some inscriptions, while the fourth one, discussing the order and chronology of the campaigns of the Bahmani Sultan, Muhammad Shah I, and the fifth gives the genealogy of the Musunuri Nayakas. The book is a useful addition to the stock of knowledge and to valuable students of medieval Indian History.

J. N. Sarkar.

BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY

Annual Report for 1948-49

1—Membership

The total number of ordinary members and subscribers to the Society's Journal on the 31st December, 1948 was 127. Eleven new members were enrolled in the course of the year. With the 15 Honorary Members and 16 Life Members, the total membership of the Society stands at 158.

At last year's Annual General Meeting the following were elected office-bearers of the Society and Members of the Council :—

President—His Excellency Sri Madhao Shrihari Aney.

Vice President—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B.P. Sinha.

Secretary—Dr. S.C. Sarkar, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.).

Treasurer—Saiyid Ahsan Shere, M.A. (London).

Librarian—Dr. Tarapada Chowdhury M.A., Ph.D. (London)

Editorial Board—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B.P. Sinha,
Dr. S.C. Sarkar, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon).
Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S.
(Editor-in-Charge)

Khan Sahib Saiyid Hasan Askari, M.A., B.L.,
Dr. Dharmendra Brahmachari Sastri,
M.A., Ph.D.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian who are ex-officio members).

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B.P. Sinha.

Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S.

Khan Sahib Saiyid Hasan Askari, M.A., B.L.

J.N. Sarkar, Esq., M.A.

Dr. Dharmendra Brahmachari Sastri, M.A., Ph. D.

Saiyid Mobarak Ali, Esq., M.L.A.

Dr. S.C. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Sc.

The last Annual General Meeting was held on the 4th April, 1948 in the new Gymnasium Hall, Patna College. His Excellency Sri Madhao Shrihari Aney, President of the Society, being in the Chair. After the transaction of

formal business, the Vice-President read his review of the Society during the past year. The meeting was followed by an interesting lecture on "Rajputana the Death of the Old Order at the end of the 18th Century" delivered by Dr. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S.

Meetings of the Council were held on the 18th January and 22nd August, 1948 and the 16th January, 1949.

Under the joint auspices of the Bihar Research Society and of the Reception Committee of the Sariputta-Moggallana Relics Exhibition at Patna a public lecture on Sariputta, Nalanda and Nagarjuna (based on Tibetan Sources) was given at the Senate Hall on 25-3-49 by Dr. S.C. Sarkar, the Secretary of the Society. The Vice-President of the Society, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sinha, presided.

III—Research Work

As the services of a suitable Tibetan Scholar could not be secured cataloguing of Miscellaneous Tibetan Manuscripts could not be carried on further. The catalogue of about 30 of the volumes is being published in sections in our Journal. Mahayanottaratantra, Edited by the late Dr. Johnston of Oxford could not be taken up in hand for publication on account of press difficulties.

IV—Journal

During the period under review Volume XXXIV (Parts 1 & 2) of the Society's Journal with 4 plates and a map has been published. Parts 3-4 of this volume is in Free Press to which we have entrusted the work of printing our Journal when our old press, The Patna Law Press, ceased to function. The local Free Press has been newly started and so the publication of our Journal is being much delayed. There is no other local press ready to undertake our work.

V—Library

During the year ending 31st December, 1948; 86 books (103 volumes) and 213 different issues of different

Journals were added to the Library. Of the books 34 were presented and 52 were purchased and of the Journals 8 were purchased, 31 were presented and 174 were obtained by exchange. On the 31st December, the Library contained 9,965 volumes as compared with 9,862 volumes of the previous year.

Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Bihar Research Society held in the Physics Lecture Theatre, Patna Science College, Patna on Sunday, the 3rd April, 1949, at 6-30 p.m.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in the Physics Lecture Theatre of Patna Science College, Patna on Sunday, the 3rd April, 1949 at 6-30 p.m. His Excellency Sri Madha. Shrihari Aney, Governor of Bihar, presiding.

The following formal business was transacted :—

1. The President declared the meeting open.
2. (a) On a motion by Dr. K. K. Datta, the following members were elected office-bearers and members of the Council of the Society for the year 1949-50 :—

President—His Excellency Sri Madhao Shrihari Aney.

Vice-President—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha

Secretary—Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon.).

Treasurer—Sayid Ahsan Shere, M.A. (London).

Librarian—Dr. Tarapada Chowdhury, M.A., Ph.D. (London).

Editorial Board—The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha.

Dr. S. C. Sarkar, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon.).

Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph. D., P.R.S.

(Editor-in-Charge).

Khan Sahib Saiyid Hasan Askari, M.A., B.L.

Dr. B. P. Sinha, M.A., Ph. D.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President,

Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian who are ex-officio members).

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha.

Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph. D., P.R.S.

Khan Sahib Saiyid Hasan Askari, M.A., B.L.

Dr. B. P. Sinha, M. A., ph. D.

Dr. J. N. Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D.

Saiyid Mobarak Ali, Esq., M.L.A.

Dr. S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Sc.

(b) Khan Sahib Saiyid Hasan Askari, M.A., B.L. seconded the above proposal.

3. The Honorary Secretary and the Honorary Treasurer presented the Annual Report and the Annual Statement of Accounts which were accepted.

4. The Vice-President reviewed the year's work of the Society.

5. The President invited Dr. S. N. Sen to address the meeting.

6. A lecture was delivered by Dr. S. N. Sen on "Scientific Archives-Keeping" illustrated with Lantern slides.

7. The President proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

8. The Secretary proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair.

9. The President declared the meeting closed.

S. C. SARKAR,

Hony. General Secretary.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar Research Society held on January 16, 1949.

Present :—

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha (in the Chair).

Dr. K. K. Datta.

Dr. T. P. Chowdhury.

Khan Sahib Saiyid Hasan Askari.

Mr. Saiyid Ahsan Shere.

Dr. S. C. Chatterji.

Dr. J. N. Sarkar.

Sayid Mobarak Ali, Esq., M.L.A.

Dr. S. C. Sirkar.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on 22-8-48.

2. Passed the monthly accounts for the months August to December, 1948.

R. A. P.

Passed the following payments :—

Indian Photo Engraving Co. for blocks
and plates

184 0 0

| | | | |
|--|----|---|---|
| Ramkishun Bookbinder for binding books | 55 | 8 | 0 |
|--|----|---|---|

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----|---|---|
| Hercules Cycle for office use | 250 | 0 | 0 |
|-------------------------------|-----|---|---|

| | | | |
|--|----|---|---|
| Messrs-. Motilal Banarsi Das for books | 25 | 6 | 3 |
|--|----|---|---|

| | | | |
|---|----|---|---|
| Dr. K. K. Datta's T. A. Bill to attend the Oriental Conference at Darbhanga | 21 | 0 | 0 |
|---|----|---|---|

| | | | |
|--|------|----|---|
| A. I. Steel Works-full payment of the balance of the price of 7 Steel Almirahs | 1704 | 12 | 0 |
|--|------|----|---|

3. Elected the following gentlemen as ordinary members of the Society :—

Mr. Subhankar Jha, M.A. Research Scholar, Patna College.

Dr. Dilli Raman Regmi, M.A., D.Litt., Benares.

Sri Mathura Prasad Dikshit, Karahagola, Dist. Purnea.

The Rt. Rev. A. F. Wildermuth, S. J., Lord Bishop, Patna.

Sri Jitendranath Singh, M.A., Sub-Editor, Searchlight.

Sri Syam Bihari Singh, M. A., H. D. Jain College, Arrah.

Sri Nawalkishore Gaur, M. A., Patna College, Patna.

4. Resolved that the next Annual Meeting be held on one of the following dates, as convenient to the invited scholar and His Excellency, Saturdays 2nd or 9th April, Sunday 3rd or 10th April, 1949 ; that the venue be either Science College Physics Lecture Theatre or Patna College B.A. Lecture Theatre (or Gymnasium), according to the nature of the lecture by the invited scholar, and that the following panel be settled for the invited scholars, in order of approach :—Dr. S. N. Sen, Dr. N. Chakravarti, Dr. Kane (Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University). It is understood Dr. Sen is agreeable.

5. (i) Read Dr. K. Nag's letter: agreed that he be asked to formally write to the Bihar Research Society in the matter.

(ii) Read the peon's application:

Resolved that it be first ascertained what kind of addition to emoluments have recently been made to similar menials in other offices (e.g. Khudabux Library, the Museum) after the last sanction of increase of allowance to them.

(iii) Regarding the question of what type of book should be ordered for, and relevant matters, it was agreed that the matter be considered fully at the next meeting. In the meantime, for facility in selection of books, and also for other desirable purposes, each issue of the Journal should print at least 10 pages of our booklets (in off-prints, for bound volumes later on).

(iv) Resolved that the Mahabodhi Society of Calcutta be written to, requesting them to arrange for exhibiting the Sariputta-Moggallana Relics at Patna Museum Buildings for some time, and along with it their collection of Buddhist Art, in collaboration with the Patna Museum and the Research Society.

S. C. Sarkar,
Hony. General Secretary.

मुद्गरदूतम्

एम० ए० उपाधिवारिणा

महामहोपाध्याय

श्रीरामावतारशर्मणा साहित्याचार्येण

प्रणीतम्

— — —

MUDGARADUTA

By

Mahamahopadhyaya Sri Ramavatara Sarma,

Sahityacharya, M. A.

FOREWARD

We published "Dhiranaishadhmi" a play in Sanskrit, written by the late Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Ramavatara Sarma, Sahityacharya, M. A., A considerable number of literary writings of this renowned scholar still await publication.

In this issue of our Journal we are publishing his satirical poem the 'Mudgaradutam' many of whose verses are often quoted by the friends and disciples of Prof. Sarma but which is not available to the scholarly world in general in its complete form.

Prof. Sarma was not only of wide reputation but was also a gifted poet and progressive social reformer.

The 'Mudgaradutum' is at once poetry of high order as well as a scathing criticism of all that is found to be bad in Hindu Society. It is a poem with a purpose but it has nonetheless, flashes of the Meghadutum from which occasionally a line or phrase has been woven into the different stanzas a literary *tour de force* not unfamiliar to Students of Sanskrit poetry.

The Mudgaradutam, in short, is the work of a scholar who upheld the best in the rich tradition of Sanskrit poetry not by imitation but by infusing modern spirit into it.

K. K. DATTA
Editor

11-1-57 01:31
11-1-57

॥ मुद्गरदूतम् ॥

किं मे पुत्रैर्गुणनिधिरयं तात एवैष पुत्रः
 शून्यध्यानैस्तदहमधुना वर्त्तये ब्रह्मचर्यम् ।
 कश्चिन्मूर्खश्चपलविधवास्तानपूतोदकेषु
 स्वान्ते कुर्वन्निति समवसत्कामगिर्याश्रमेषु । १ ।
 शास्त्रज्ञानामपि ननु तनुर्दूषितावस्कराद्यैः
 शुद्धः कः स्यादगुरुरिति भुवं स भ्रमन्मूर्खदेवः ।
 बन्धो कं चिद्गुरुमथ शक्तूपरक्तादिशून्यं
 चैत्ये कस्मिंश्चन विनिहितं जीर्णपाषाणखण्डम् । २ ।
 चैत्योपान्ते सरितमतुलां प्राप चिन्तां स पश्यन्
 दैवादग्निर्दहति यदि तां का दशा यादसां स्यात् ।
 तान्युद्धीय द्रुमततिमिमां तीरजां हन्त यान्ती-
 त्युक्तः प्राज्ञैरपि सकरणं मुक्तकण्ठं करोद । ३ ।
 मैनां धाक्षीर्दहन भगवन्मातरं मत्स्यजातेः
 सायं प्रातः प्रतिदिनमिति प्रार्थनां गातुमुच्चैः ।
 उद्युक्तानामथ समुदितश्चर्मकारादिकानां
 व्याख्यानार्थैर्विपुलसमितीः स्थापयामास मूर्खः । ४ ।
 सायं चैत्ये स कथकमुखान्माघमाहात्म्यकाण्डे
 शुक्लाष्टम्यां विकिरति सुधां शीतरश्मिर्निशीथे ।
 श्रुत्वा वार्त्तामिति सविधवः सूक्ष्मकौपीनधारी
 तीरे नद्या रजनिमनयज्जाड्यविद्धः सुषायै । ५ ।
 ग्रामोपान्ते तरुणविधवाः प्राप्तगन्धर्ववाधा
 मूर्च्छामगनाः सरभसमसावामृशञ्जुलीभिः ।
 गायत्र्या वा मदनविधुरो रामकृष्णाद्वयैर्वा
 सोच्छ्वासास्ता वधित पयसा शस्यराजीवृषेव । ६ ।
 क्षेत्रेऽपश्यत् सप्रहिषमथ स्फीतदर्पं भ्रमन्तं
 त्वचः श्रेयान्ननु पशुरयं शृङ्गलाङ्गूलयुक्तः ।

इत्थं प्रोक्तः प्रियविधवया तामुवाच प्रियाहं
 पुच्छं शृङ्गद्वयमपि च मे दिव्यदृष्ट्यावलोक्यम् । ७ ।
 गर्भं लब्ध्वा तरुणविधवा कापि तं लज्जयोचे
 वक्ष्यन्तीमे किमिह भगवन्बन्धवो गर्मिणीं माम् ।
 तां प्रत्युचे प्रहसितमुखो मूर्खदेवः प्रगल्भो
 मद्भस्मागुप्रभवमयि ते खयापयिष्यामि गर्भम् । ८ ।
 धूर्त्तं वृत्तैरथ स गदितैरात्मजन्मान्तराणा-
 मत्यश्लीलैः किल पुलकयन्बालवैधव्यदग्धा ।
 प्राप्यैताभ्यः प्रतिदिनमसौ पायसापूषराशी-
 न्सीतारामस्तवकलकलैर्मोदयामास भक्तान् । ९ ।
 ब्रूते भूयो मनुरपि वदेद्यामिनीं नैव भाषां
 किं शिक्षाभिर्जपत शिशवो रामकृष्णेति जल्पन् ।
 भाषानामान्यथ मनुमपि क्षीवकोऽसावजान-
 न्मुग्धान्स्निग्धैर्वृतमधुमयैर्वञ्चयामास वादैः । १० ।
 श्रुत्वा मृत्युं जरठविदुषः कस्यचित्काशिकायां
 शिष्यैः पृष्टः 'कथय भगवन् कारणं तस्य मृत्योः' ।
 पोतैर्द्वीगन्तरगतिविधिं शंसतिस्मैथ विप्र-
 स्तस्माद्यातो यमगृहमसावित्युवाच स्वशिष्यान् । ११ ।
 काले याते पितरमथ च व्याधितं शुश्रुवान्स
 ग्रामं गत्वा भटिति जरठं तं समाच्छिद्य वैद्यात् ।
 वैद्यो नारायण इति वदन्स्थापयित्वापगाया-
 मेकादश्यामजलरसनं मारयामास तर्षात् । १२ ।
 विद्वान्बृद्धो ननु तव पिता हा विपन्नोऽद्य कष्टं
 शोकात्सर्वं सुहृद इति तं तुष्टुवुस्तस्य तातम् ।
 पापाः किनु प्रलपथ पितुर्नैव जानीथ कीर्त्तिं
 भूमावेष स्फुटमयि जडा मुष्कशोथे द्वितीयः । १३ ।
 दृष्ट्वा मूर्खा जगति पुरुषाः प्रायशो लम्बकूर्चा
 इत्यालोच्य व्यथितहृदयः पुस्तके चापि मूर्खः ।
 मुष्ट्या कूर्चं धृतमवहितो दग्धमारभ्य दीपे
 वह्नी सद्यो ज्वलति च मुखं मुक्तमुष्टिर्ददाह । १४ ।

नीतिव्याख्यासमितिषु तथा धर्मवार्त्तासदःसु
 प्रायो नाट्येष्वथ शवखनिष्वाश्रमेषूद्भटानाम् ।
 व्यर्थं क्षिप्त्वा भरतवसुधाद्रव्यकोटीः स कीटो
 देशप्रेमोल्बणभणितिभिर्नाशयामास विद्याम् । १५ ।
 आनेष्येऽहं हिमगिरितटादौपधं वः क्षुधार्तिं
 प्राणायामैर्वियति भवतां साधयिष्ये गतिं वा ।
 कुञ्जे कुञ्जे सपदि भविता रामकृष्णावतारः
 श्मश्रुच्छित्त्वा प्रकटवनिताभावभाजो रमध्वम् । १६ ।
 जल्पन्निस्थं रसनगरलै रामकृष्णादिनामा-
 न्युग्राचारः किल कलुषयन्नार्त्तवं विभ्रदङ्गे ।
 सिन्दूराक्तो रणितवलयः शाटिकावेष्टिताङ्गः
 सायं चैत्ये प्रतिदिनमसावञ्जिताक्षो ननर्त्त । १७ ।
 विभ्यद्भूताच्चपलविधवासंगमैः पूतचैत्यः
 प्रायश्चित्तं मुहुरूपदिशन्स गृहस्थेषु पापः ।
 कोटीश्चिन्वज्जगदुपदिशन्स्वप्नमायोपमानं
 गाथा वेदानिव परिपठन् स्फीतकीर्त्तिर्बभूव । १८ ।
 ईशः सृष्टिं स किल विदधे फूत्कृतैश्चिन्तया वा
 तावत्पापं क इह कुरुते यावदीशः क्षमेत ।
 रे रे मूढाः स्मरत गणिकां तामथाजामिलं वा
 व्याख्यायेत्थं निखिलजनतां मञ्जयामास पापे । १९ ।
 एकं ब्रह्म स्फुटमिह वृथा पुण्यपापादिभेदः
 खड्गमुद्राद्यैः स्पृशति न यमो धर्मलिङ्गैरुपेतम् ।
 भार्यापुत्रादिकपरिहृतिः स्वर्गसोपानधारा
 जल्पन्निस्थं जगति विदधे पातकस्य प्रचारम् । २० ।
 तन्त्रीवार्ता श्रुतिषु विदिता वाण्ययानानि चैव
 प्रायः किञ्चिन्न तदिह जने यन्न तास्वीश ऊचे ।
 निर्मायधीनमिथुनभवास्ता जगादेश्वरस्ता-
 न्किं विज्ञानै रटत सततं तच्छ्रुतीरित्यशात्सः । २१ ।
 एकस्यायै ननु पशुशिशोः पक्षिणो वा कुमेवा
 लक्षं लक्षं निहत मनुजान्मानवा मूरिसंख्यात् ।

मत्स्याः कीटा अथ च पशवो दुर्लभा दिव्यरूपा
 व्याख्यायेत्थं करुणहृदयो नैप हिंसां विषेहे । १२१।
 आसं पूर्वं रजकभवने रासभः साधुवृत्तो
 यैषा प्रेष्ठा मम च विधवा रासभी साऽसती या ।
 चैत्ये श्वाऽयं मम किल पिता सूकरी हन्त माते-
 त्याद्यैर्जन्मान्तरसुचरितैर्नन्दयामास नारीः । १२३।
 पुष्पाख्याभिर्जननसमयं पाणिरेखाप्रपञ्चै-
 रायुर्वार्ता कखगणनया लक्षणं कन्यकानाम् ।
 चन्द्रादीनां स्थितिभिरधियां दुर्दशां तत्पूषास्ते-
 र्मिथ्योपायानपि च कितवः ख्यापयन्श्रप वित्तम् । १२४।
 पुत्रो मर्त्यः प्रकुस्त शिलापुत्रकान्यौवनं न
 स्त्रीणां नित्यं वितनुत रतीरायसोत्सुखलेषु ।
 भोज्यं पाके भजत विकृतिं वायुमाचामतेति
 प्रायस्तर्कैरथ बहुविधैर्मायिकं सर्वमूचे । १२५।
 अयैस्याति सपदि नियतां भावनाभिर्दृढाभि-
 र्व्याचक्षाणः प्रखरमतिना केनचिद्धूर्तयुना ।
 सोऽहं पीत्वा मदपरवशो हन्त संकल्पमद्य-
 किं वा कुर्यामिति कथयता ताडितः पादुकाभ्याम् । १२५।
 श्रीकृष्णस्ते नयनविषयं याति शेषे निशायाः
 किं त्वं शेषे तदिति कथयञ्जातु शिष्यं शनैः सः ।
 दिव्योष्णीषः कपिशवसनः काष्ठबाहुद्वयाढ्यः
 पूजां यष्टिप्रहरणमयीं प्राप तस्माद्विलज्जः । १२७।
 प्राणायामैर्वियति विहरामीति विख्याप्य रङ्गे
 मन्दालोके निभृतनिहितं भित्तिकानागदन्तम् ।
 नृत्यन्धूर्तः स किल परितो मेखलान्नद्धरन्ध्रं
 चेतश्च के कुतुकतरलं बालिशानां बहूनाम् । १२८।
 दत्तोक्तोचं विदितकपटं गर्भदासं च कञ्चिद्-
 गूढाकृतैः सपदि कितवो मूर्च्छयन्त्याणिकम्पैः ।
 स्वेन शतं क्रियदपि सुखेनाद्यवर्णाद्यभिशा-
 संकेताद्यैर्निभृतविहितैर्बोधयामास पापः । १२९।

सर्वाशुद्धिप्रणयिहृदयो मद्यवार्धेरगस्त्य-
 र्चाण्डालीनामधरमधुपो बद्धगर्धः कुसीदे ।
 जिह्वो भूयस्तरुणविधवाभ्रूणहत्यापराधी
 धर्मव्याख्याचटुलरसनः पूज्यते स्मैष मूढः ।३०।
 अस्मिन्नेवावसर उदितावत्र सुन्दोपसुन्दौ
 मिथ्यावाचां धुरि कृतपदौ भारतस्य क्षयार्थम् ।
 एको ब्रूते भ्रमति धरणीं राघवो मत्स्वरूपो
 लालामन्यस्तडिदण्डमयीं पाययत्यात्मभक्तान् ।३१।
 श्रुत्वा कीर्त्तयति कुलपते मूर्खदेवस्य भूय-
 स्तत्सङ्गेच्छानिधिमिव हृदा धारयन्ती प्रचण्डा ।
 रण्डा काचिन्मदनविधुरा स्थूलबीभत्सकाया
 प्रायाद्गन्धां भरतवसुधामुत्तराध्याधिवासात् ।३२।
 तां सर्वज्ञां खचरचरणां पण्डुपत्नीमिव द्रा-
 रदेवान्द्र(क)ष्टुं पटुमतिरसाद्गोषयन्मूर्खदेवः ।
 भूयो भूयः प्रकटकपटामप्यधृष्यां स भक्तै-
 र्विद्योच्छेदेऽधिगतविजयोऽपूपुजद्वज्रमूर्खैः ।३३।
 भक्तस्पर्शैर्भ्रुवमुपनतां वैद्यनाथादिलिङ्गे-
 शंसद्भम्भप्रचुरहृदयासावयस्कान्तशक्तिम् ।
 बन्धस्फोटो वियति चरतां प्रेतसत्त्वादिकानां
 मन्त्रोद्घोषैरिति च सततं घोषयामास पापा ।३४।
 आदर्शोऽस्मिन्मलिनविधुरे स्यात्त्रिकालावभासो
 भीष्मादीनां पुनरपि भवेद् दृष्टिरत्राङ्गुलीये ।
 भाग्यं सर्वं विलिखति सुखं काष्ठखण्डं तथेदं
 धूर्त्ता वादैरिति शिशुजनं मोहयन्ती चचार ।३५।
 भूताहानैस्त्रिपदरुचिरापीठकान्नर्त्तयन्ती
 कम्पैः पाणयोश्चरतरुजः क्षिप्रमुल्लाघयन्ती ।
 भस्त्रारूपं निजगुरुजनं व्योम्नि संदर्शयन्ती
 पूजां बालेष्वमजतं चिरं दक्षिणारण्यकेषु ।३६।
 क्रुद्धा शापैरथ निजमहाशक्तिवार्त्ताप्रपञ्चै-
 रन्ते भक्तप्रवरविहितैर्मन्त्रैश्च भूयः ।

तामाजमुहं तदधियो ये परीक्षार्थिनस्ता-

न्दम्भोद्दामा शिशुजनरिपुर्धर्षयामास पापा । ३७।

रन्तुं दैवैः क्षवथुविधिना वाष्पयानं विधातुं

क्तुं बन्धून्नयनविषये योजनानां सहस्रात् ।

प्राणायामैरपि च विषयं प्राप्नुमन्यग्रहाणां

बन्ध्यापुत्रानुसरणसभां स्थापयामास धूर्ता । ३८।

शून्यध्यानैरमिथुनभवब्रह्मदेवर्षिवादैः

फूत्कारादिप्रभववृत्तनायुद्धवृत्तप्रपञ्चैः ।

चिन्तामात्रप्रकटशकटोड्डीनकौलस्तवाद्यै-

र्बन्ध्यापुत्रानुसरणसभां ह्लादयामास भक्ता । ३९।

भूतप्रेतः फलितगणनामारणोच्चाटनादि-

स्पर्शाश्मादेरपि च महिमा हस्तसामुद्रिकं च ।

वन्यैर्दस्युप्रभृतिभिरिति व्याहृतं यद्यदेव

प्रायः प्रख्यापितमथ सभा बृंहयामास तत्तत् । ४०।

ब्राह्माद्यन्त्राण्यपि च खचरत्वादिसिद्धीर्हिमाद्रेः

शृङ्गादेषा भरतवसुधां नूनमानेध्यतीति ।

बन्ध्यापुत्रानुसरणसभास्थापिकायां विमुग्धाः

संजातास्था अकृतमतयः संत्यजन्ति स्म विद्याम् । ४१।

वर्षैरल्पैरथ पटुनटी सा शृगालाङ्गनानां

पाथेय्यासीद्विरहविधुरान्मुञ्चती हन्त भक्तान् ।

बद्धाशोऽस्यां हतमतिरसौ मूर्खदेवश्चिराय

व्यामूढः सन्किमपि बुबुधे नेतिकर्त्तव्यतां स्वाम् । ४२।

बन्ध्यापुत्रानुसरणसभा तां विना साध्वनाथा

बब्रे नाथं विटपटुमथो कालकूटाभिधानम् ।

दिव्याः शक्तीः कलयति करे वल्लभे पांसुलानां

सेर्ष्यस्तस्मिन्नमजत धृतिं नैव मूर्खः कदाचित् । ४३।

मूर्खत्वं स्याद्भरतवसुधावासितां केन शश्व-

स्त्रिद्वेलोमैः कथमविरतं वञ्चितेभ्यश्च तेभ्यः ।

स्त्रीवित्तादेरलमधिगमः स्यात्सदा मादृशाना-

मित्यं चिन्तामगमदतुलां मूर्खदेवः कदाचित् । ४४।

तस्योत्कण्ठाकुलमतिचिरं ध्यायतश्चैत्यमूले
 मूर्च्छामृच्छन्नथ कपिकुशः कोकिलोदारवर्णः ।
 आशावासा नयनविषयं मुद्गरानन्दनामा-
 यासीत्सिद्धः शिरसि कलयन्पीततृण्यशिरस्त्रम् ।४५।
 कस्त्वं नरनः कथय भगवन्नागतो वा किमर्थं
 नूनं देवो भवसि विकटो देवयोनिस्तथा वा ।
 इत्थं भीतः किमपि भगवद्दर्शनान्मूर्खदेव-
 स्तं पप्रच्छ प्रणयिविधवाशाटके लीयमानः ।४६।
 एतं मेघस्तनितविशदैरक्षरैः प्रत्युवाच
 स्निग्धं पश्यन्प्रहसितमुखो मुद्गरानन्ददेवः ।
 मा मैत्रीभो विदितयशसं मुद्गरं पश्यसि त्वं
 देवं बन्ध्यासुतचरणयोश्चारुणं धन्यजन्मा ।४७।
 सूर्यस्यामी बुधकविमहोभौमजीवग्रहा ये
 मन्दास्त्रयश्चाप्युरणवरुणौ तत्र वासोऽन्तिमे मे ।
 दिव्याः शक्तीस्तव समुदितस्येक्षितुं योगभूम्ना
 भूमिं प्राप्तं जनमिममये विद्धि विद्वन्नमस्ते ।४८।
 जन्मानर्घ्ये वरुणभुवने गर्जितं मातृभाषा
 क्रीडा शक्रायुधनवतडिद्रोहिताद्यैश्च दिव्या ।
 वासः कल्पक्षितिरुहतले सैकते देवनद्या
 बन्ध्यापुत्रो गुरुरिति सुखं कः प्रवक्तुं ममेष्टे ।४९।
 दिव्याः कुर्वन्गुरुरथ कथाः कुरण्डकानीनपोटा-
 भ्रूकुं सानामभजत सुरावेशमत्यर्थघोरम् ।
 साक्षात्कुर्वन्पशुपतिमसौ नरनदेवं महात्मा
 ज्योतिर्लिङ्गे विपुलविभवे तस्य लीनश्चिराय ।५०।
 बन्ध्यापुत्रे गतवति गतिं तामवाच्यामथाहं
 मारीचस्य प्रकटयशसो हेमकूटाश्रमान्ते ।
 ध्यायन्बाल्यप्रणयिनममुं भक्षितस्याहिफेन-
 स्योम्राद्वेगान्न्यपतमतुले तीव्रमूर्च्छासिमाधौ ।५१।
 वल्मीकाध्वान्तरितवपुषः कञ्चुकाढ्योरसो मे
 जीर्यद्वल्मीनिविडितगलस्योपचर्यास्थितस्य ।

न्यञ्जनीडावलितजटामण्डलस्य

प्रकामं

दुष्यन्तोऽसावलभत नृपो दर्शनं भाग्यलभ्यम् । ५२ ।
 काले गच्छत्यतिविपुलतां विभ्रती श्मश्रुणी मे
 प्रातिष्ठेतां हरितमुभयीमुत्तरां दक्षिणां च ।
 एकं सक्तं स्मररिपुवटस्कन्धभागे तथान्य-
 त्सुग्रीवाद्रावसजदचिरादाज्जनेयस्य पुच्छे । ५३ ।
 इत्थं श्मश्रूपचयमतुलं धारयन्नर्च्यमानः

पुत्राद्यर्थं तरुणकुलटापाङ्गनीराजनाभिः ।

एकं कृत्यं युगमतिगतं न व्यजानां प्रमोदा-
 द्वन्ध्यापुत्रं गुरुमपि चिराद्विस्मरन्व्योममग्नः । ५४ ।
 कैलासाद्रिं तुलयति हठाद्रावणेऽथोत्तरं मे
 श्मश्रूदस्थाद्वियति रमोत्पाटितं च प्रसह्य ।
 तत्त्वोभात्तं हनुमति ततो दक्षिणं कूर्दति द्रा-
 गुत्खातं तद्व्यसनमगमं श्मश्रुणोर्विह्वलेऽहम् । ५५ ।

श्मश्रूत्तापादथ च तपसः संप्रभावात्स धूमं
 दृष्ट्वा मौलिं मम गुरुभियस्तापसानां कुमाराः ।
 धक्ष्यत्यस्मान्वनमपि विभो मुद्गरानन्ददेवो
 दाक्षायण्याः कुलपतिमिति ज्ञापयामासुरार्त्ताः । ५६ ।

भीतश्चित्ते कुलपतिरपि क्षिप्रमेवात्मयोगा-
 न्मूर्च्छायां मां पतितमचिरात्प्रापयतीर्थराजम् ।
 तत्रातिष्ठं तव सुचरितस्यावतारं प्रतीक्ष्य
 मात्रालम्बः कथमपि गुरु श्मश्रुलोपात्तिदुःस्थः । ५७ ।

धर्मव्याख्याकलकलरवैरैषमः कुम्भकाले
 हेषानादैरिव मम गुरोरश्वकानां विबुद्धम् ।
 दग्धा गेहाः सनरशिशवो वह्निशौचात्त्वयेति
 गुल्माध्यक्षोऽधिकरणमुत्वं पङ्क्तुमिहोनयन्माम् । ५८ ।

मामालोक्य पूर्णहितदशं पङ्क्तुमिहे पुरीषा-
 ध्यक्षे श्रुत्वाधिकरणपतिस्तत्कृतं मेऽभियोगम् ।
 रे रे मूर्खाः कथमिव नरः पावकावस्करः स्या-
 दुच्चै रुचे सरभसमिति त्रासयन्भृत्यवर्गम् । ५९ ।

शुक्तश्चेदं किमपि भगवन्नञ्जनं त्वं गृहाणे-
 त्युक्ता सद्यो विकटपुरुषं रासमी सा ररास ।
 दृष्ट्वा कुञ्जेऽपि च विटपतिं हन्त साऽन्तर्दधे द्र-
 ग्ध्यायंस्तां च स्वभुवमगमद्विक्रवो मूर्खदेवः । ७५।
 प्रातर्भूयोऽप्यथ मलारस्तीरमासद्य पृच्छ-
 न्दासांस्तेभ्यः स जरठविदां तां गतां द्वीपमन्यत् ।
 श्रुत्वा मूर्च्छन्कथमपि मनस्तामनुप्रेष्य दुःस्थ-
 स्तन्वा चैत्यं सुगतहभृद्राजधानीभिवागात् । ७६।
 तस्याः शोभामयं सुखविरेऽवस्करस्यैष गर्ते
 ध्यायं ध्यायं व्यलुठदयनौ ताडयन्नात्मवत्तः ।
 काले चास्मिन्नशरणगतिमुद्गरानन्ददेव-
 स्तृणयामौलिः पुनरपि दधे तस्य नेत्रातिथित्वम् । ७७।
 अस्याभ्यर्णौ शतमुखतया सागरस्यैव गङ्गा
 तस्योद्दामद्विगुणितरया प्राक्हच्छोकधारा ।
 दृष्टे बन्धौ प्रियविरहजं हन्त को नाम दुःखं
 रोद्धुं सद्यः प्रभवति दृढादृश्यचित्तोऽपि मर्त्यः । ७८।
 यत्नाद्वाप्यं कथमपि वशी संनिरुध्य प्रियाया-
 वार्त्ताभिच्छन्नमुमथ चिरान्मूर्खदेवो जगाद ।
 कः स्यादस्यां विपदि शरणं मुद्गर त्वां विना मे
 याचे तस्मात्किमपि भगवन् धृष्टतां चेत्त्वमेयाः । ७९।
 जातं वंशे भुवनविदिते वर्करानन्दकानां
 जानामि त्वां विकृतिपुरुषं कामरूपं महात्मन् ।
 तेनार्थित्वं त्वयि विधिवशाद्बन्धुर्गतोऽहं
 याच्ञा मोघा वरमपगुणे नोत्तमे लब्धकामा । ८०।
 सर्वशं त्वां किमिव करये ज्ञातमेवात्मवृत्तं
 संदेशं मे हर विटपतिच्छन्नविरुद्धितस्य ।
 गन्तव्या ते वसतिरनृता नाम धूर्तेश्वराणां
 वाष्पाम्मोषिरिथततरितडिच्चन्द्रिकाधीतहर्म्या । ८१।
 मार्गे तावच्छृणु कथयतस्त्वत्प्राणानुरूपं
 प्राणायामैरपि सन्तु सखे येन गन्तुं त्वमेयाः ।

स्थाने स्थाने तरुणविधवाधृष्टपातैः प्रमोदः
 स्थूलाभ्यूषैः सपशुपिशितैः स्याच्च शान्तिः क्षुधायाः । ८२।
 ज्योतिर्लिङ्गं पुनरपि शिवस्यैति वृद्धिं किमिस्थं
 दृष्टोत्साहश्चकितचकितं मुग्धवाराङ्गनाभिः ।
 स्थानादस्मात्प्रचुरकितवान्निष्पतावाङ्मुखस्त्वं
 नन्दन्निगधैः कपटयतिनां शुष्कहस्तावमशैः । ८३।
 पृष्ठे कस्याप्यथ पथि यतो भाटकस्यन्दनस्य
 क्रान्त्वा सद्यः फलकमकशाद्यातभीतः प्रसर्पन् ।
 गङ्गासेतोर्विपुलरुचिरस्यान्तिके वाष्पयान-
 स्थानं गत्वा कतिचन कलास्तत्र यानाय तिष्ठेः । ८४।
 निद्रादोषादथ कवलितस्याहिफेनस्य दोषा-
 च्छून्यध्यानाच्चपलकुतटापादधातस्मृतेर्वा ।

आकौमारानुसृतविषमाचारधारोपनीता-

पस्माराद्धा न यदि कलयेर्वाष्पयानागमं चेत् । ८५।
 स्थूलाभ्यूषैः सपशुपिशितैर्वर्त्तयस्तत्र मूढ
 जीवाम्यश्नन्विमलमनिलं योगवर्त्येति जल्पन् ।
 अक्षोभ्यः सन्कतिचन विभो वासरांस्तत्र तिष्ठे-
 दैवात्कस्मिंश्चिदहनि भवेद्वाष्पयानस्य लाभः । ८६।
 स्थूलाभ्यूषे सपशुपिशिते क्षारनीरे हिमे च
 द्रव्यं प्रायः क्षपयसि यदि क्षिप्रमुत्थाप्य धूलिम् ।
 प्राताद्यस्मात्क्षुवति मनुजे योगचूर्णाद् गजेन्द्रो
 नासारन्ध्रात्प्रभवति सखे तत्सुखं निर्मिमोथाः । ८७।
 विक्रीयैतत्पथिकनिकटे भूरि वित्तं च लब्ध्वा
 प्राप्ते बाष्पानसि विश जवाञ्छुल्कपत्रं विनैव ।
 स्थाने स्थानेऽधिकृतपुरुषान् वीक्ष्य दूराञ्छनैस्त्वं
 तिष्ठेर्ब्रह्मशकटरचितावस्करागारमध्ये । ८८।
 गङ्गारेवाप्रभृतिसरितः सेतुभिर्विप्रतीर्य
 मुम्बामम्बामिव च वणिजां प्राप्य तीरे पयोधेः ।
 अङ्गैः सङ्गं कमलमृदुलैः पारसीकाङ्गनानां
 लब्ध्वा खेद्यस्यमृतमधुरं मुद्गरायुःफलं त्वम् । ८९।

अश्वस्यान्वान्मुनिवरमुखाध्मायमानाद्रसाया

गर्भे वह्निं स्मरसि न कथं हा महाभारतोक्तम् ।
इत्याद्युक्तीरयमगणयन्न्यायवाद प्रियाणां

मर्त्यं जानन्न्यमुचदथ मां भर्त्सयन्पङ्कसिंहम् ।६०।
हेतोरस्मात्तव चरणयोर्दर्शने मे विलम्बो

मन्तुं क्षन्तुं तमपि भगवन्नहंसि प्रश्रितस्य ।
साक्षाद् दृष्ट्वा विकटवदना प्रेयसी तेऽवतीर्णा

प्रातः कालस्त्वरय सुमते रासभीं द्रष्टुमेनाम् ।६१।
बन्ध्यापुत्रो मम गुरुस्य यः पुरोक्तोऽवतार-

स्त्वं तस्यासि प्रकटय निजं वैभवं भूयदेऽस्मिन् ।
यैषा याता विकटचरितोदक्पथात् प्रिया ते

तस्याः स्पष्टं परुषरसना रासभी सावतारः ।६२।
श्रादशो मे सुविमलमतेनागतातीतदर्शी-

दन्त्युद्भाविक्ष्वथुजननं योगचूर्णं पवित्रम् ।
लक्ष्म्युष्ट्रवोपनयनपटयोर्गवत्तिंश्च दिव्या-

तस्या एतत्त्रितयमपराः सिद्धयश्च पूकाशाः ।६३।
गच्छावैनामियमपि सखे भारतं मोहगर्त्तं

येन स्थास्यत्युपचितमले दास्यतेऽनुग्रहाधौ ।
दिव्यं मोहाञ्जनमनुपमं येन चिन्ता विजह्यां-

येनाकाक्षोऽमृतमिव जनो मंस्यतेऽवस्करं च ।६४।
मध्यमुद्गरः ।

प्रस्थानाय पूर्वहितमती मन्त्रयित्वेति देवी
सायंकाले समलिनघटं तैलकारं भ्रमन्तम् ।

काणं दृष्ट्वा पथि कुशकुनालोकभीतौ निशीथे
पूतिष्ठेतां प्रियविधवया मङ्गलेऽनुष्ठिते तौ ।६५।

सूचीमेघे तमसि कुधियो दिग्भ्रमाक्षौ ततस्तौ
नायं मामो ब्रजतमनया रथ्ययेतीव पान्थैः ।

उक्तावप्याः कथमपि जडाः शासका नौ भवन्त-
स्तानाकुशयोधनिचितमले पेतदुः पूतिगर्त्ते ।६६।

नीत्वा रुन्नि कथमपि मलेऽवस्कराचार्यवयौ
प्रातः पश्चात्तदुवि ततस्तस्य गतोत्तिमस्य ।

चैत्यं दृष्ट्वा परमरुचिरं रासभी चारु रम्यं
 प्रारेभाते रभसविवशौ मोदनृत्यं विचित्रम् । ६७।
 वृद्धस्थूलां चपलरसनां घोरवीभस्वरूपां
 वक्राचारां विकटतुलसीकाष्ठमामालाढ्यकण्ठाम् ।
 तत्रोदामां विकृतवदनां रासभी वीक्ष्य कां चि-
 तां धावन्तीं चिरमनुगतावापद्भुःप्रादघातम् । ६८।
 विज्ञानाको भरतवसुधां भासयेच्चेद्गतिः का
 चण्डि स्यात्ते क्व च वयमिमे हन्त यामः प्रतप्ताः ।
 मान्थर्यं तेऽनुचितसुचितं दर्शयेर्मन्थरा त्वं
 पादाघाताद् द्विगुणितरुची तामिति प्रोचतुस्तौ । ६९।
 विज्ञानार्कं तम इव जडौ मन्यते बन्धुता वा-
 मज्ञानान्धं तमसमतुलं हन्त जानाति सूर्यम् ।
 येनास्माच्च व्रजति न बहिर्गूथगर्तात्तदेत-
 दिव्यं मोहाञ्जनमयि ददेऽवस्कराचार्यवयौ । ७०।
 इत्युक्त्वा सा निभृतनिहितां शुक्तिकां पूतिजीर्णा-
 मन्तःपूयां त्वरितमनयोर्दर्शयामास घोरा ।
 गन्धेनास्था रघुवरशरेणैव हा ताटके यः
 क्षिप्तो दूरं व्यलुठदवनौ मुद्गरानन्ददेवः । ७१।
 प्रात्वा गन्धं मुदितहृदयोऽजामिलस्यावतारो-
 दृश्यद्रोमा विकसितमुखो मूर्खदेवस्तु तस्याः ।
 धन्या रण्डे त्वमसि चटुले योगसिद्धेति भूयः
 स्तोत्रं शंसन्नवाहितमनाः श्रद्धां वाचमस्याः । ७२।
 सर्वत्रैव प्रथय भगवन्दिव्यशक्त्यादि वार्दं
 शंसन्सिद्धान्प्रकटय निजं यस्य कस्यावतारम् ।
 पार्श्वे शश्वद् घटय विधवाः स्वैरिणीर्याभ्र कार्श्व-
 न्नैवेद्यादीन्यथ च विभजेः शिष्पवर्गेषु भूयः । ७३।
 सिद्धे लोभादलसजनता वीक्षितुं चावतारं
 मूर्खाः सर्वे तरुणकुलटालिप्सया धर्मलिङ्गाः ।
 उच्चिच्छ्रुत्वासापरवशहृदो दुष्टबालाश्च शश्व-
 न्मुग्धाः सन्तस्तव मतममी लक्षः संश्रयन्ते । ७४।

तत्र स्त्रीणां ललितललितैरङ्गहारैर्विमुग्धो-
 दिव्यान्भोगान्कृतमतिरुशन्भोगसौवेपु विद्वन् ।
 मेकानन्दादिवदयि सखे विस्मरन्योगमूर्च्छां-
 नूनं प्राप्स्यस्युपचितमदः प्रेमनूच्छां दुरन्ताम् ।१०५।
 गच्छन्मार्गे सरितमथ चेन्मिश्रसिप्राभिधानां ३२
 पश्येदैवावहितमना विद्धि पारेऽथ तस्याः ।
 वृक्षैः शश्वत्फलभरनतैर्नित्यरम्योऽकण्ठे
 तस्यागारं ननु विटपतेर्येन नीता प्रिया मे ।१०६।
 नौकाशुल्कं यदि न सुलभं तत्र ते स्यात्तदा त्वं
 धृत्वा जन्तोः शवमयि सखे दादुखरडं तथा वा ।
 गाढप्रेमा सपदि तुलसीदासवत्तां प्रतीर्य
 प्राप्स्यस्यग्रे विटपतिगृहं रासमीचाररम्यम् ।१०७।
 द्वारे यस्य स्फुटति तुलसी यत्र रङ्गी हनूमा-
 न्मातेत्युक्ता चपलविधवा स्वामिनी यत्र चान्तः ।
 च्छिन्नश्मश्रुः स च विटपतिः कामिनीवेषधारी
 यत्र स्वामी नटति सततं बालकैः स्त्रीण्येषैः ।१०८।
 नासां भोक्तुं यदि च हनुमान्यामिकस्तत्र तिष्ठे-
 न्नागच्छेत्ते सपदि भगवन् रामरामेति जल्पन् ।
 पश्चाद्भागे निलयनिरयस्यास्य कुत्रापि लीनो-
 धैर्यात्सूर्यास्तमयसमयं प्रत्यवेक्ष्य विद्वन् ।१०९।
 यत्रोद्दामा न किल तुलसी यत्र नार्यो हनूमां-
 स्तस्मिन्मार्गे पटुतरमतेऽवस्करागारपार्श्वे ।
 दैवात्कचिज्जरठभुज्जगं लम्बमानं गवाक्षा-
 दालम्ब्य द्राङ्निलयनिरयं तं विशेष्यचिन्तः ।११०।
 गत्वा सद्यो मशकशिशुतां शीघ्रसंपातहेतोः
 पायुप्रक्षालनगृहगते पूतिगन्धे निषण्णः ।
 अर्हस्यन्तर्भवन्पतितां कर्तुं मत्पुत्ररूपां
 विद्युद्दीपप्रखरकिरणामात्मनो दन्तभासम् ।१११।
 स्थूला श्वेता परुषरुहना शीर्णकन्दाधरोष्ठी
 मध्ये स्फारा स्तिमितशुनकप्रेक्षणा वृङ्गनाभिः ।

श्रोणीकाश्यात्प्रखरगमना दूरनम्रा स्तनाभ्यां
 या तत्र स्यान्नरविकसनात्पूर्वजा वानरीव ॥११२॥
 तां जानीथाः प्रलपनपटुं मृत्युदेवीं द्वितीयां
 दूरीभूते मयि सहचरे तत्र घूकीमिवैकाम् ।
 गाढामोदां तनुपु दिवसेष्वेपु गच्छत्सु वृद्धां
 जातां मन्ये विटपतियुतामश्वभार्यामिवान्याम् ॥११३॥
 नूनं तस्याः प्रलपनवशाच्छूनवक्त्रं प्रियाया
 निःश्वासानामतिजडतया शीर्णनीलाधरोष्ठम् ।
 दीर्घग्रीवं शिर उपलसद्ब्यक्तिहीनालकत्वा-
 स्कान्तिं शश्वद्वहति जरठस्यायसोलूखलस्य ॥११४॥
 आलोके ते निपतति पुरा सा विटाङ्कस्थिता वा
 व्याख्यानैर्वा तरुणजनतामोहनेऽतिप्रसक्ता ।
 श्लिष्यन्ती वा परुषरसनं रासभं गत्तमग्नं
 पृच्छन्ती वा शुनकमयि भो मूर्खदेवः स्मृतस्ते ॥११५॥
 तस्मिन्काले सुभग यदि सा दैवयोगात्प्रबुद्धा
 स्यात्तां सद्यश्चटुलचरितां मूर्च्छयेमूर्धकम्पैः ।
 घोरा ह्येषा विकृतवदना जाग्रती भोक्तुमेव
 त्वामुद्दण्डं द्रुतमभिसरेत्पातयेच्च प्रसह्य ॥११६॥
 तां संमूर्च्छय स्वमलकणिकास्यूष्मलैर्मूर्धकम्पैः
 प्रेतावेशादिव विदधतीं चेष्टितान्यद्भुतानि ।
 तस्मिन्धूर्त्तं विटकुलपतौ कापि दूरस्थिते त्वं
 वक्तुं धीरः स्तनितवचनैः स्वैरिणीं प्रक्रमेथाः ॥११७॥
 भर्तुर्मित्रं चपलविधवे विद्धि मां मुद्गराख्यं
 तत्संदेशैः स्मृतिमगमितैरागतं त्वत्समीपम् ।
 यो वृन्दानि श्लथयति पथि भ्राम्यतां पोषितानां
 तीव्रौद्वत्यैश्चटुलकुलटानीविमोक्षोत्सुकानि ॥११८॥
 इत्याख्याते विटमिव चिराद्बृद्धवाराङ्गना सा
 त्वामौद्वत्स्वाच्चपलद्बुद्धया दृष्टिपातैर्दहन्ती ।
 श्रोभ्यत्यस्मात्परमवहिता मुद्गर स्वैरिणीनां
 भर्तुर्धूर्त्तं सुद्विपन्नतं वेदनामेव घत्ते ॥११९॥

तत्र स्पष्टं कनकघटिताः कामिनीर्मट्टियानां
 पश्येयासां निविडवपुषां निस्तुतामङ्गलक्ष्मीम् ।
 वीक्ष्योन्मत्तः पशुरिव मुहुर्मन्दिरस्याधिपोऽपि
 प्रायो लास्यं रचयति निजं गौरवं पृष्ठतोऽस्यन् । ६० ।
 व्यक्तोर्जान्ते^६ कमपि रुचिरं तत्र चित्रं वहिजं
 प्राप्य स्वस्थो जलनिधिजले प्रारभस्व प्रयाणम् ।
 द्वीपान्पश्यन्प्रवहणशतालोकधन्यस्तरङ्गा—

स्फालस्फीता वहनविततीर्लङ्घयन्नापगानाम् । ६१ ।
 अश्नन्ब्रह्मन्नशनशकटे^{१०} दिव्यभोज्यां यथेच्छं
 तुङ्गाभोगे प्रकटकुलटोरःस्थले दत्तदृष्टिः ।
 द्राक्षाभयं^{११} तुहिनशकलैः^{१२} शीतलैः संपिबंस्त्वं
 वर्त्मश्रान्तिं गणयसि पुरा बाष्पयानेन विद्वन् । ६२ ।
 संत्यज्यारादथ जलनिधेर्विप्रं पारस्यबाहुं^{१३}
 मुक्तागारं यतिमिव सखे गच्छतो दक्षिणेन ।
 शोणाब्धिस्ते^{१४} नयनविषयं धर्मयुद्धे क्षताना-
 मारव्याणां^{१५} रुधिरसरितेवैष्यति व्यक्तशोणः । ६३ ।
 गच्छंस्तेन प्रथितविभवामुत्पथां दक्षिणेन
 स्फाराङ्गाणां^{१६} मिव सुमहतीं शिल्पकीर्तैः पताकाम् ।
 तीर्त्वा रम्यामथ कृतमते तां सुवीजारव्यकुल्यां^{१७}
 मध्याम्भोधिं^{१८} प्रविश भगवन्नुत्तरेणाजपुत्रान्^{१९} । ६४ ।
 आराद् गच्छन्त्यवनधरणेः प्राच्यविद्यानिधाना-
 द्दूरात्पश्यन्कुतुकविवशो रोमकान्साहसाङ्गा^{२०} -
 न्मध्याम्भोधिं हनुबलधरा^{२१} मुत्तरेण प्रसर्प-
 न्गान्तास्यग्रे हरिकुलमुखं^{२२} वीक्षमाणः सुफेनान्^{२३} । ६५ ।
 द्रक्ष्यस्यग्रे विततमतुलं लङ्घयित्वा सुफेना-
 न्वात्तार्तन्त्री^{२४} शतयुतजलं मित्रतुङ्गाभुराशिम्^{२५} ।
 राज्ञां पोतैः प्रवहणचयैः किञ्च सांयात्रिकाणां
 मन्थानाद्रेरिव शिशुकुलैर्मथ्यमानं समन्तात् । ६६ ।
 पारे तस्य प्रथितयशसां तत्र धूर्त्तेश्वराणां^{२६}
 राज्ञां द्रक्ष्यस्वतुलविभवं मक्षिका^{२७} राज्यपारवै ।

यस्मिन्विद्याप्रणयविवशास्तैलकारा अपि द्रा-
 क्कोटीर्दत्त्वाध्ययननिलयाः भूरिशः स्थापयन्ति । ६७।
 उत्तरमुद्गरः
 शिल्पागारैर्नगरततयः सागरा युद्धपोतैः शैला
 ज्योतिर्गणितभवनैः सेतुभिर्यत्र नद्यः ।
 कुल्याम्भोभिर्जनपदपथा राजमार्गैश्च देशा
 विद्युद्दीपैः शशधरनिभैर्वीथयो यत्र रम्याः । ६८।
 यद्वास्तव्यः प्रचरति सरित्सागरे धूमपौतै—
 भूर्भौ विष्ण्वक् पवनशकटैर्^{१८} बाष्पविद्युच्छताङ्गैः ।
 दूरं चित्रैः पतति च वियद्वर्त्मनि व्योमयानैर्^{१९}
 रिस्थं लोकत्रयमपि करेऽवस्थितं मन्यमानः । ६९।
 श्वेतद्वीप्यान^{२०} वि नयविदस्तान्विजित्याहवेषु
 व्यस्वायोग्यं वनचरकुलं कानने विप्रकृष्टे ।
 आनीतायां वशमतिबलैर्ध्वरायां प्रजानां
 भोगाद् भूयो दहति दहनो यत्र गोधूमशस्यम् । १००।
 विद्युद्दीपव्यजनलसिता यन्त्रसोपानगम्या
 शेषांशाश्च प्रकटविभवा ये परार्थोपबर्हाः ।
 दीसोद्योगैरतुलमतिभिर्ज्ञाननिष्ठैः भ्रितास्ते
 चत्वारिंशत्क्षितिकृतरुचो यत्र सौधा विचित्राः । १०१।
 यद्विद्वद्भिः प्रकटमतिभिर्हन्त निर्माय तन्त्री-
 वार्त्तायन्त्रं जगति विदितं च स्वनग्राहयन्त्रम्^{२१} ।
 श्वेतद्वीप्यानपि ऋषिवरान्वाष्पयानादिकर्तु-
 ङ्जेतुं शश्वद्विहितमतिभिर्भूः सनाथीकृतेयम् । १०२।
 स्थूलाभ्यूपैः सपशुपिशितैर्वत्तमानोऽपि नित्यं
 शासत्यन्यान्विकृतमतयो घासमात्रोपभोगम् ।
 यत्राऽश्रद्धाः सुरपितृकुले पिण्डहोमादिशून्या
 धूर्ता मुग्धान्तुरपितृरुचोन्धोषणैर्वञ्चयन्ति । १०३।
 श्रान्ताः कृत्यैरहनि विहितैरीप्समाना विनोदं
 सायं ज्योत्स्नामयतनुरुवा मुष्टिसंमेयमध्याः ।
 धूर्तैर्भूयस्तरुणयतिभिस्त्वादृशैः कृष्णरूपैः
 प्रेम प्रमेत्युपचितरवैर्यत्र नृत्यन्ति रामाः । १०४।

तामायुष्मन् मम च वचनादात्मनश्चापकर्तुं
 ब्रूया जारस्तव चपलिके कामगिर्याश्रमस्थः ।
 दुःखेनार्त्तो विकटचरिते दुःखमिच्छत्यसौ मे
 शश्वद्वाच्यं दुरितकृतिनां प्राणिनामेतदेव । १२० ।
 स्थूलः स्थूलं विकटवदने गाढशैत्वैश्च शीतं
 रुग्णै रुग्णं विरतकुतुकैः कौतुकेनातिशून्यम् ।
 शीतश्वासं तुहिनशिशिरश्वासिभिर्दूरवर्त्तीं
 जारः स्वाङ्गैः स्पृशति चपले तेऽङ्गकं वेदनार्त्तः । १२१ ।
 गूढाख्येयं यदपि किल ते यो विटानां पुंस्ता-
 दुच्चैः क्रुद्धः कथयितुमभूत्पादघातादिशङ्की ।
 सोऽयं दिव्यश्रवणविषयो दिव्यदृष्ट्याद्य दृश्य-
 स्त्वां पारुष्यप्रगुणितपदं मन्मुखेनेदमाह । १२२ ।
 अश्मस्वङ्गं स्तिमितशुनकप्रेक्षणे दृष्टिपातं
 वक्त्रच्छायां विकृतकलसे दर्भजालेषु केशान् ।
 उत्प्रेक्षेऽहं त्रुटितविटपश्रेणिषु भ्रूविभङ्गा-
 न्हन्तैकस्मिन्कचिदपि न ते चण्डि सादृश्यमस्ति । १२३ ।
 त्वामुत्प्रेक्ष्य प्रकटितरुषं पादघाताय सज्जा-
 मात्मानं ते खुरविनिहतं यावदिच्छाम्यभय्ये ।
 रोषात्तावन्मुहुर्पचिता स्वत्सकाशात्पलायै
 क्रूरः पादाहतिमपि न ते मर्षयत्येष रोषः । १२४ ।
 मामाकाशप्रणिहितपदं निर्दयाघातहेतो-
 र्लब्धायास्ते कथमपि मया दिव्यसंदर्शनेषु
 पश्यन्तीनां न खलु बहुशो नाधमे पुंसखीनां
 पूगस्थूलान्युपवनभुवि ष्ठीवनान्युद्भवन्ति । १२५ ।
 भित्त्वा सद्यो जरठममरं पत्तनं नालिकानां
 ये तद्गन्धस्तुतिमलजुषः सर्वतः संप्रवृत्ताः ।
 ते सेव्यन्ते चपलकुलटे हा परीवाहपाता-
 व्याख्यानं ते कचिदपि भवेज्जातु तत्रेति लोभात् । १२६ ।
 व्याख्याधूलौ चपलरसने ते वियद्व्याप्नुवत्यां
 विज्ञानार्कोऽस्तमयमयते सर्वथा क्षुत्तविम्बः ।

भक्तिज्योत्स्ना भजति विलयं कर्मतारा न दृश्या-
 मोहध्वान्तं प्रसरति मुहुर्दम्भघूका रटन्ति । १२७ ।
 सा त्वं दूरे वससि यदि चेद्वन्धुता हा हता ते
 तत्कल्याणि प्रकटय सुखं पादयोस्ते पतामः ।
 प्रत्यध्वं च प्रतिग्रहमथ प्रत्यविद्यालयं च
 व्याख्याहोषा तव पुनरसौ रासभान्संधिनोतु । १२८ ।
 आगच्छेश्चेद्भगवति मलानन्दनाम्नाथ सख्या
 संयोगं ते सपदि घटये येन संमन्य सार्धम् ।
 विश्वाविद्यालयमपि सुखं भारते निर्मिमीथा-
 यस्साल्लब्धा सकलजनता हत सर्वा अविद्याः । १२९ ।
 शुष्कं पर्णं परिणमयितुं मोदकापूपकेषु
 प्राणायामैर्विधति चरितुं वायुतो दुग्धमातुम् ।
 पुत्रानुत्पादयितुमरणेरश्मरन्ध्रे प्रवेष्टुं
 रामं भूमौ भ्रमयितुमलं चिन्तयाह्वातुमन्यत् । १३० ।
 १न्तुं देवैः क्षवथुविधिना बाष्पयानं विधातुं
 लक्षायुष्ट्रं घटयितुमथो योगवर्त्यानिलाशात् ।
 सर्वं द्रष्टुं मलिनमुकुरे प्रेक्षितुं चावतारा-
 न्वालैवृद्धैरथ च तरुणैः कौशलं यत्र लभ्यम् । १३१ ।
 धस्मिन्वृद्धोऽक्षमवदुहते कौतुकात्केपि विज्ञा-
 स्तस्या घस्तात्तितउमपरे धारयन्ते पयोर्थम् ।
 प्राणायामैः पतगतनवः संतरन्त्यम्बरेऽन्ये-
 ऽभ्यस्यन्तः प्राक्तरणमनिलेऽन्ये तितीर्षन्ति चाम्भः । १३२ ।
 धर्मोक्तर्चादुत शिविकयोद्वाहतः स्यात्प्रजाति-
 बुद्धेर्वृद्धिं जनयति शिखा कूर्चस्त्रा तथा वा ।
 सिद्धेहेतुर्भवति न च वा सिद्धलालावलेहो
 वादैरायुः क्षपयति सदैवेदृशैर्यत्र लोकः । १३३ ।
 नीतिज्ञोभैर्विधिषु सततं हन्त विज्ञानवादै-
 र्मालाकर्षैरपि च खटिकाभस्मलोपादिकृत्यैः ।
 धेतुञ्छायाग्रहणकुतुकैर्दारुसखडेरणेश्च
 प्रायश्छान्नोऽध्ययनसमयं नाग्रते सिद्धिकामः । १३४ ।

अस्मिन्विद्याविलयनफले स्थापिते भारते-
 ऽस्मिन्विश्वविद्यालय उपचितं मोहमन्तर्धाना ।
 स्थास्यत्येषा भरतवसुधावस्करश्वभ्रमध्ये
 बन्ध्यापुत्रानुसरणसभानुग्रहाणां स्मरन्ती । १३५ ।
 प्राणान्ती मे प्रमदशयनादुत्थिते दण्डपाणौ
 मैत्रं कालं गमय चपले लोचने मीलयित्वा ।
 एहोह्यावां विरहगुणितं तं तमात्माभिलाषं
 निर्वेद्यावः परिणतमले तत्र गर्त्तकदेशे । १३६ ।
 भूयश्चाहं त्वमसि विभिने कण्ठलभा पुरा मे
 शान्तिं गत्वा किमपि विकृता प्राहरः पादधातैः ।
 धोरारावं कथितमसकृत्पृच्छतश्च त्वया मे
 दृष्टः सान्नाक्तितव निरतस्त्वं सखीभाववत्सु । १३७ ।
 एतस्मान्मां कुशलिनमभिज्ञानदानाद्विदित्वा
 मा कौलीनान्द्रपकवदने मय्यविश्वासिनी भूः ।
 स्नेहानाहुः किमपि विरहे ध्वंसिनस्ते त्वभोगाद्-
 दृष्टे वस्तुन्यपि बहुलिताः कौतुकं वर्धयन्ति । १३८ ।
 निस्तुद्यैवं प्रथमविरहोदग्रमोदां सखीं ते
 वारां राशेः प्रवहणशतक्षोभितात्सनिवृत्तः ।
 सोपालम्भैरकुशलमयैस्तद्वचोभिर्ममापि
 प्रायो वज्रादपि दृढतरं जीवितं संसयेथाः । १३९ ।
 कञ्चित्सौम्य व्यवसितमिदं बन्धुकृत्यं त्वया मे
 मन्दं मन्दं स्तनसि न कथं मानुवाचाऽद्य विद्वन् ।
 निःशब्दोपि स्रवसि भगवन् क्षारमम्बु प्रकामं
 प्रत्युक्तं हि प्रणयिषु सतामीप्सितार्थक्रियैव । १४० ।
 एतत्कृत्वा प्रियमनुचितप्रार्थनावर्त्तिनो मे
 सौहार्दाद्वा विधुर इति वा मय्यनुक्रोशबुद्ध्या ।
 ब्रह्मषिष्टान्विचर विषयान्प्रौढतासंभृतश्री-
 मां भूदेवं क्वचिदपि च ते स्वैरिणीविप्रयोगः । १४१ ।
 इत्युक्तोऽसौ विटपतिगृहं मुद्गरानन्ददेवो
 गत्वाशंसत्स किल विधवां मूर्खदेवस्य वृत्तम् ।

शुश्रूषैतद्विदितैरथ प्रायशः सर्वमेवं
 पायुप्रक्षालनगृहगतः क्रोधदग्धाखिलाङ्गः ।१४२।
 श्रुत्वा वार्त्तां यतिसमुदितां तां विटेशोऽपि सद्यः
 स्वप्राणान्तं विकलहृदयः संविधायातिरोपात् ।
 संयोज्यैतौ प्रकटितशुचौ दम्पती प्रेतरूपो
 दुःखान्युप्राणयविरतमसौ भोजयामास पापः ।१४३।
 तस्मिन् मृत्युं विटकुलपतौ प्रापिते मुद्गरेण
 व्यक्तं शोकाद्विकलहृदयौ दम्पती तु प्रसह्य ।
 बन्ध्यापुत्रानुसरणसभाधीश्वरत्वाधिचक्रे
 वद्धस्पर्धौ द्रुतमभवतां व्यापदा तस्य रिक्ते ।१४४।
 आसीद्धोरः कलिरथ तयोस्तत्सभायाः पतित्वं
 नाशायस्या भरतधरणेश्छतोश्छद्मभाजोः ।
 वित्तैर्वाग्भिः कुटिलकपटैर्दिव्यशक्तिप्रवादै-
 र्यज्ञान्योन्यं किन्तु शठवरौ चिह्निकाते चिराय ।१४५।
 ज्योतिर्दिव्यं विटपतिशिरोरुप्रतो निर्गतं मे
 रात्रौ साक्षादतुलविभवे मूर्धरन्ध्रे प्रविष्टम् ।
 सिद्धाः प्राप्ता नयनविषये दीप्तरूपाश्च भूयः
 प्राहुर्महि भवति सदसो युज्यते ते पतित्वम् ।१४६।
 श्रुत्वा तस्या वदनकुहरात्सिद्धिवाणीमिवेत्यं
 बन्ध्यापुत्रानुसरणसभास्तारवर्गो विमुग्धः ।
 सद्यो बन्धे चपलरसनां तां सभायाः पतित्वे
 यच्चक्षुत्वासावतनुत विभुर्मुद्गरोप्यदृष्टासम् ।१४७।
 प्राप्यं धन्यैरमरकविना यत्त्रिधायाः पतित्वं
 शस्तं भूयस्तदकृतमतिर्मूर्खदेवस्त्वनिच्छन् ।
 बन्ध्यापुत्रानुसरणसभां तां विहायातिरुष्टः
 कल्याणार्थी शरणमगमदब्लाकटानन्ददेवम् ।१४८।
 इति श्री महामहोपाध्यायपण्डितरामावतारशर्मणा प्रणीतं मुद्गरदूतं
 समाप्तम् १९१४ ।

Foot notes

- १ अन्वता New york
- २ स्थूलाभ्युषः—Loaf
- ३ वाष्ययान स्थानम् Railway station
- ४ क्षार नीरम् Soda water
- ५ हिमम् Ice
- ६ वाष्यानः Railway Carriage
- ७ शुल्कपत्रम् Ticket
- ८ अभिकृतपुरुषः Officer (here Ticket collector)
- ९ व्यक्तो जातिम् Vicotria Terminus
- १० अशनशकटम् Restaurant Car
- ११ द्राक्षाभ्यम् Grape wine
- १२ तुहिनशकलम् Bit of ice
- १३ पारस्यबाहुः Persian Gulf
- १४ शोणविधिः Red Sea
- १५ आरव्याः Arabians
- १६ स्काराङ्गाः French
- १७ सुवीजकुल्या Suez Canal
- १८ मध्याम्मोधिः The Mediterranean Sea
- १९ अजपुत्राः Egypt
- २० रोमकाः Rome
- २१ हनुवलधरा Italy
- २२ हरिकुलमुखम् Strait of Gibraltar
- २३ सुफेनाः Spain
- २४ वार्तातन्त्री Cable
- २५ मित्रतुङ्गावुराशिः Pacific Ocean
- २६ धूर्तेश्वराः Americans
- २७ मक्षिका Mexico
- २८ पवनशकटम् Motor car
- २९ व्योमयानम् Aeroplane
- ३० श्वेतद्वीप्याः The English
- ३१ स्वनग्राहयन्त्रम् Gramophone
- ३२ मिशसिप्रा Missisipi

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SASANKA

By

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(1) The origins of Sasanka

The lineage and the early history of Sasanka have been regarded as absolutely obscure and therefore have been the subject of numerous speculations. From the Harsacarita we learn that Rajyavardhana was killed by the king of Gauda. The king of Gauda according to one manuscript of the Harsacarita was named Narendragupta

(1) According to Yuan Chwang, Sasanka the king of Karnasuvarna in eastern India, killed Rajyavardhana. Therefore it can hardly be contested that Sasanka was the king of Gauda, and if we rely on the solitary authority of the manuscript quoted by Buhler, then Narendragupta might have been a second name for Sasanka. Nagendra Nath Vasu thinks that the king of Gauda, who killed Rajyavardhana was Narendragupta and Sasanka was his 'Mahasamanta'

(2) But this is impossible, because the Chinese pilgrim makes a definite and positive statement that Sasanka the king of Karnasuvarna killed Rajyavardhana and besides this there is no place for a Narendragupta in the 7th century A.D. in the history of Madhyadesa.

Some scholars have tried to connect Sasanka with the Guptas. Vidyavinoda takes him to be the son of Maha-

(1) On Yuan Chwang (Watters), I., P. 34.

(2) Social History of Kamarupa III, quoted by K. L. Barua in JARS. Ip. 97.

senagupta (1). Bannerji suspected that probably 'he belonged to the Gupta dynasty of Magadha', and 'both he and Devagupta of Malava probably tried to restore the prestige of the Gupta dynasties of India immediately after the death of Prabhakaravardhana' (2). The same provenance and the similarity of the coins of Sasanka with those of the later imperial Gupta -e.g. Kumara Gupata III led Bannerji to this conclusion. (3) But there is no real basis for this suspicion. Alliance between Devagupta and Sasanka against their common enemies, the Maukharis and their allies the Vardhanas does not, and should not, suggest any blood-relationship, between Sasanka and Devagupta. Similarity in the style and provenance of the coins do not necessarily prove any family kinship between the Guptas and Sasanka. On the same grounds Bhattasali connects Sasanka with Samacaradeva. (4) The existence of the Rohtasagarh seal matrix does not prove any connection between Sasanka and Mahasenagupta or the imperial Guptas. On his coins we have 'nandidhvaja' instead of 'garudadhavaja' as commonly found on the Gupta coins. There is not even an indirect hint in the inscriptions of his feudatories about his alleged connection with the Guptas, which was certainly a point of special honour not to be missed by his vassals when the latter were eulogising their sovereign overlord. No allusion to this suspicion is even indirectly made in the Harsacarita when it refers to the king of Guada on many occasions. Raychaudhuri (5) rightly remarks that "there is no reason to believe that Sasanka belonged to the Gupta family, even if he had a secondary name, Narendragupta."

Bhattasali's suggestion that Sasanka was the son and successor of Maharajadhiraja Samacaradeva is equally

(1) Kamarupa Sasanavali, P. 15 (intro.)

(2) History of Orissa I, p. 129.

(3) Ibid : B. I. p. 105.

(4) JASB. (N. S.) XIX. Num. Sup., P. 54 Nff.

(5) P. H. A. I. (4th edn.), P. 514, foot note.

(6) Barua (Early History of Kamrupa, p. 60) comes to the same conclusion. He adds another reason that as Sasanka was a persecutor of Buddhism he could not belong to the Gupta dynasty, which was a follower of the policy of religious toleration.

unacceptable. The grounds on which this startling theory is based are that (a) a Rajalila type of coin of Samacaradeva was found with a gold coin of Sasanka (b) both Samacaradeva and Sasanka were Saivas and have the bull on their coins, and (c) Allan holds that the coins which have Narendraditya on the reverse are earlier than those of (1) Sasanka. But all these grounds are weak and untenable. With a coin of Sasanka and the Rajalila type coin of Samacaradeva were also found the coins of Candragupta II, Kumara Gupta and Skandagupta (2), but because of this nobody would hazard the theory that Narendraditya I.E. Samacaradeva as proved by Bhattasali (*Loc. cit.*), belonged to the Gupta dynasty. Sasanka certainly came after Samacaradeva and he may or may not have conquered Eastern Bengal, but this can never point to the conclusion that therefore Sasanka was the son and successor of Samacaradeva as by such reasoning any conqueror would become the descendant of the vanquished. As for the similarity of the coins of Sasanka with those of Samacaradeva it is important to note the difference as well. We have only one coin (Archer type) of Samacaradeva which has a bull standard on the reverse. His other coin is of Rajalila type and it has no sign of 'nandi-dhvaja' or any symbol connected with Siva. Therefore it is obvious that the 'nandi-dhvaja' or bull-standard was no exclusive and permanent specific feature of the coinage of Samacaradeva Narendraditya. But on all the specimens of the coins of Sasanka (3) we have

- (1) CCGDBM. Intro. plxi, cxxiv, p. 149-50. Allan read 'Narendraditya' on the reverse on both the coins, while on the obverse on the archer type he read 'saha' or 'sama' or 'yama' (*ibid.* p. cxxiv.); while on the 'Rajalila' type he read 'yama' ? dha', on the obverse : Smith (C. I. M. I. p. 120. No. 1) read on the archer type coin specified 'uncertain', 'ca' between the feet on the obverse, and possibly 'Narendravinata' on the reverse and on the other designated as 'Throned-king type' i. e. Rajalila type (*ibid.* p. 122 No. 1. Pl. XVI. 13) he read 'yama' on the obverse and Narendraditya. According to R. D. Bannerji the name of the king on both the coins is 'yama' and the reverse legend is Narendravinata. Bhattasali (*loc. cit.*) has conclusively proved that the two coins belong to Samacaradeva Narendraditya, who is the same as Maharajadhiraja Samacaradeva who issued a copper-plate grant found in the Faridpur district of eastern Bengal (JRAS VII. N. S. p. 475 ff).
- (2) CCGDBM. p. cxxvii.
- (3) CCGDBM. pp. 147-48 ; C. I. M. I., pp 121-22.

the 'bull' on the obverse with the moon and the image of Siva This certainly leads to the conclusion that the Nandi-symbol was a distinct and specific characteristic of the coinage of Sasanka. Moreover it is interesting and necessary to note the vital difference between the Bull-standard coin of Samacaradeva and the coins of Sasanka The coin of the former has been described by Allan as follows :- Archer type, wt. 148.2 grs., obverse the king standing on left, holding bow in left hand and arrow in right hand, Bull (nandi) on left, beneath, left arm 'sa ha (?) ca', no traces of marginal legend; reverse, Goddess (Laksmi) nimbate, seated facing on lotus, holding lotus in left hand and fillet in out-stretched right hand, symbol (?) on left. Sri Narendraditya (1) No coin of Sasanka exceeds 145.6 grains in weight. (2) The coins of Sasanka have been described by Allan as follows :- obverse, Siva nimbate, reclining to left on bull (nandi) to left, with left hand uplifted, holding uncertain object; moon (Sasanka) above on left, on right Sri Sa, below Jaya; reverse goddess (Laksmi) nimbate seated facing on Lotus, holding lotus in left hand which rests on knee, and with outstretched right hand empty; above on either side elephant sprinkling water over her (abhiseka), no symbol; on right Sri Sasanka" (3) The difference would be obvious to all. The 'bull' with Siva and the moon on the obverse and the elephant sprinkling water on the goddess on either side on the reverse are features distinguishing these coins from the coins of Samacaradeva.

The most serious objection against the theories that connect Sasanka with the Guptas or Samacaradeva is that Sasanka was a Gauda (4) and neither the Guptas nor Samacaradeva nor his predecessors Dharmaditya and

(1) CCGDBM., p. 149.

(2) Ibid, pp. 147-48: C. I. M. I. pp. 121-22.

(3) CCGDBM., p. 147.

(4) The murderer of Rajyavardhana is called 'gaudadhipa' 'gaudadhama', 'dustagaudabhujanga' (H. C. (parab) pp. 187, 188, 192); and 'the vilest of the Gaudas' (H. C. CT. p. 180) 'Gauda-serpent' (ibid, p. 185). Hasa promised to clear this earth of the Gaudas' (ibid, p. 187). "nirgaudam na karomi medinim" (Parab. p. 194). All these quotations make it clear that the Sasanka the murderer of Rajyavardhana, was a Gauda' or a native of Gauda, otherwise there was no reason to abuse the whole people.

Gopacandra are ever referred to as 'Gauda' in the inscriptions. The coins of Sasanka may in style and provenance be common with the coins of the imperial Guptas, but the designs on the obverse and reverse of the coins of Sasanka disprove any dynastic connection between him and the Guptas. Majumdar suspected some relationship between Sasanka and the Mana chiefs. (1) But there is absolutely no real basis for this suggestion. Much more absurd is the opinion of Gosavi (2) that as there is a Mriganka in the Varman dynasty of Kamarupa, so Sasanka may be a prince of the Varman dynasty, probably a cousin of Bhaskaravarman. It needs no comment at all.

We proceed to discuss now the relationship between Sasanka and Jayanaga. Jayanaga issued the Vappaghosavata grant from Karnasuvarna (3) The gold coins of Jaya should be rightly attributed to Jayanaga. The period that elapsed between Jayanaga and Sasanka, both kings of Gauda, could not be long, as is clear in the context of the history of the period, and the characters on the coins and inscriptions. A comparative study of the coins of Jayanaga and Sasanka confirms our suspicion that there was some sort of close relationship between the two and the one followed the other almost immediately. In Allan's expert opinion "the issuer of the coins which bear the reverse legend 'sri prakandayasah and have 'jaya' beneath the king's arm on the obverse may be connected with Sasanka." After comparing the coins of 'Jaya' and Sasanka the learned scholar concludes, "It is clear from the resemblance of the reverses that the coins of Jaya and Sasanka are closely connected" (4) Naga appears to be an appellative of Jaya and there is no trace of 'gupta' on his coins (2). It may be of some significance to note that Sasanka or the Gauda kknig who killed Rajyavardhana is at numerous places in the Harasacarita compared to a

(1) JAHRS. X., pp. 1ff.

(2) JARS. II., p. 12.

(3) E. I. XVIII pp. 60 ff.

(4) CCGDBM. PCV.

(2) *ibid.*, pp. 150-51.

serpent (1). Jayanaga and Sasanka were associated with Karnasuvarna as the capital of their kingdom, and while Sasanka is called the king of Gauda in the Harsacarita Jayanaga is probably referred to as 'Gaudaraja' in the Manju-sri-mula-kalpa. (2) Sasanka is referred to as belonging to the Brahmana caste, and Jayanaga is also said to belong to the same caste (3). All these facts prove that Sasanka and Jayanaga were closely related to one another. But the nature of the exact relationship between the two can only be guessed. Except for the reference to a 'Gaudaraja Nagaraja' with 'Jaya' as the beginning of his name in the Manju-Sri-Mula-Kalpa soon after Sasanka (4), there is no positive evidence that Jayanaga followed Sasanka. Though Jayasval has not taken this passage to refer to Jayanaga (he takes it to allude to a much earlier period (5), we may agree with Majumdar (6) in regarding the verse as referring to Jayanaga. The M.N.K. is at many places confused as regards chronology and details. At one place it says that Sasanka was a brahmana and in another it asserts that the murderer of Rajyavardhana was of a low caste (7). Then from the same source it appears that Jayanaga was earlier than Soma (Sasanka) and that Jayanaga had made war in Orissa, and after him there was a division of Gauda-tantra between Sasanka and another man (8). In view of such contradictory remarks and the perfunctory nature of the work, we may not be correct in arriving at any conclusion as to who followed the other. But one thing is clear: if we believe that Jayanaga preceded Sasanka, we can rely on the Manju-Sri-Mula-Kalpa as much or as little as the other side.

- (1) H. C. Text (Parab) "vritha vitatavipulaphanabhara bhujangana bharta bibharti yo bhogena mritpindameva kevalam" p. 191, probably refers to Sasanka or his government (CT. p. 183. fn. 8.); dustagaudabhujanga (Parab, p. 192), (H. C. CT. p. 185.) It has to be admitted that nowhere in the Harsacarita is Sasanka compared to a serpent by the term 'naga'.
- (2) I. H. I., p. 55 (Text) v. No. 754.
- (3) *ibid.*
- (4) I. H. I., p. 50 (text) v. No. 750.
- (5) *ibid.*, p. 51.
- (6) H. B. R. I., p.
- (7) I. H. I., p. 50.
- (8) *Ibid* p. 66, Text p. 62, v. No. 829 B., 829 c.

Our plea that Jayanaga was followed by Sasanka and not vice versa is not against numismatic evidence. According to Allan (1) "the base gold coins which bear the name Jaya cannot be earlier than the end of the sixth Century A.D." It may be of some significance that the coins of 'Jaya', having the average of 136 grains in weight, are lighter than those of Sasanka, whose average weight is 145.8 grains (2). As generally accepted, the lighter coins of Jaya may be earlier than the heavier ones of Sasanka. As against this it may be pointed out that the light weight 'is due to the fact that they are of very base metal' (3), and that Cunningham has shown that coins of 'Jaya-gupta?' are much more alloyed than those of Sasanka. On this ground Bhattasali (4) held that Jayanaga must have come later. Debasement of metal in the coins, though generally it may suggest a later period in comparison with coins of better metal, can never be taken as necessarily later as a universal rule. Coins of Prakasaditya (5), whom we have identified with Budha Gupta (6), are much better than the coins of some of his predecessors as regards the fineness of the metal. Then we have a coin of Sasanka (7) which for its purity of metal is unique not only among his own coins but also among the coins of the most of the later imperial Guptas like Kumara Gupta III and Vishu Gupta Candraditya. Cunningham had very few coins of Jayanaga and Sasanka at his disposal, and therefore his conclusion about the percentage of the pure metal and alloy may not be very reliable. We have some of the coins of Sasanka in the British Museum which are more debased than those of Jayanaga. Some of the coins of Sasanka are so thoroughly debased that they are actually of copper with a plating of silver, and had a thin wash of

(1) CCGDBM. p. CIV.

(2) *ibid*, p. CXXIV.

(3) *ibid*.

(4) CM. I

(5) JASB. (N. S.) XXI, Num. Supp. pp. N 6 ff.

(6) CGDBM. pp. 135-36.

(7) See *supra*.

(6) CCGDMB. p. 148 (612) Pl. XXIV, 2.

gold over it, and must have circulated as gold coins. The better quality of Sasanka's coins may reflect a more prosperous period for the kingdom than was the case in the time of Jayanaga. The existence of the Seal-matrix of Mahasamanta Sasankadeva at Rohtasgarh in South Bihar may be used to strengthen our contention that Sasanka was a Gauda and came after Jayanaga. Sen (1) held that Sasanka began his career as a Mahasamanta in Magadha', and, 'this post he held probably under Avantivarman, the father of Sarvavarman'. He further observed that" in this capacity he may have exercised some sort of control over the Varmans of Gaya; whose status does not seem to have been higher than that of a Samanta". He concluded, "Sasanka was as yet only a high official, but the edifice of his future greatness was reared on this comparatively obscure basis and after the defeat of Avantivarman by the Calukays, he made himself master of Magadha.....and swooped down upon Pundravardhana immediately after the death of Mahasenagupta." But the story suggested is highly improbable. The Varmans, of Gaya were certainly earlier in time than the imperial Maukharis in Magadha. The enemy of Mangalesa Calukya was more probably Mahasenagupta not Avantivarman. The Sulikas of the Haraha inscription may not have been Calukyas. The most serious flaw in this imaginative story is that Mahasenagupta after his defeat at the hands of the Maukharis was not ruling in Pundravardhan but in Malwa. On the same grounds we have to reject the theory of Ganguli (2) that Sasanka was the high feudatory of Magadha under the Maukhari kings Avantivarman and Grahavarman, and later on, he conquered Magadha and invaded Gauda, and therefore he was a native of Magadha and successful conqueror of Gauda (Bengal). Really it is difficult to understand the description of a Magadhan origin to Sasanka. If he was a native of Magadha, it would have been more natural for him to keep the centre of his kingdom in Magadha, the country of glorious imperial traditions, than to

(1) Some Historical Aspects of the inscriptions of Bengal p. 261.

(2) I. H. Q. XII., pp. 456 f.

make Karnasuvarna in Bengal his capital. Majumdar held that Sasanka was a feudatory of Mahasenagupta, who rewarded his valuable help in his war against the Varman king of Kamarupa (1). But we have already shown the weakness of the theory as it makes us presume the reconquest of Magadha from the Maukharis by Mahasenagupta, a very remote possibility, as we know that Mahasenagupta's family must have suffered some serious calamity, as his sons were acting as attendants on Rajyavardhana and Harsavardhana. Much more improbable is Barua's suggestion that Mahasenagupta reconquered Northern and Central Bengal from the king of Kamarupa, and appointed Sasanka as Mahasamanta over this region, and that after the death of Mahasenagupta Sasanka declared himself independent. (2) Sasanka was the Mahasamanta in Magadha, not in Northern and Central Bengal.

Thus we find that we have no real basis to connect Sasanka with the Guptas or the Maukharis. Sasanka was a Gauda and Jayanaga was also a king of Gauda. It appears to be very plausible that Sasanka was appointed as Mahasamanta of Magadha by Jayanaga, who extended his authority over Magadha. In the history of Magadha as known from Yuan Chwang, inscriptions and literature, there is no place for a powerful king like Jayanaga, in the period following Sasanka. After Sasanka we have to place Purnavarman, Harsa and Madhavagupta in Magadha. Therefore if Jaynaga could ever be connected with Magadha, as certainly was the case, then he must have come before Sasanka. This fact receives unexpected corroboration from the coins of Sasanka. These coins (3) have in the obverse legends 'Sri Sa' and below it 'Jaya', not 'Jayah' as Cunningham read it (4). It is clear from the the coins that the legend 'Jaya' is complete by itself and is not a part of any fuller legend. It is exactly in the same

(1) HBR. 1. p. 59.

(2) Early History of Kamarupa p. 58-59.

(3) CCGDBM. pp. 147-48.

(4) C. M. I. p. 15.

form and characters as 'Jaya' on the coins of Jayanaga. It is a very general practice to have the name of the ruling king on the obverse of the coins, and therefore the legend 'Sri Sa' certainly stands for Sasanka, and Jaya for Jayanaga. It is quite possible that Sasanka was the yuvaraja of Jayanaga and was associated with the government in the lifetime of Jayanaga, as was very common in ancient India. The coins of Sasanka may have originated in this way and continued later on, just to recall Jayanaga with gratitude. It is certainly a rare example, but on the coins of the Kalacuri king Krisnaraja we have the legend "parama-mahesvara mata-pitri-padhanudhyata sri-Krisnaraja" (1). Sasanka may have advanced farther and put the name of his predecessor on his coins. A serious objection against the Hypothesis proposed above may be raised: from his coins Jaynaga appears to be a devotee of Visnu (2), as on these we have the 'cakra' standard and the king with bow and arrow, while Sasanka was a Saiva, as is clear from his coins with the image of Siva, the Bull and the Moon, and also from the account of Yuan Chwang (3). It is quite possible that Sasanka may not have been a son of Jayanaga. He might have belonged to a different family, and may have become the 'Yuvaraja' or the 'regent' of the empire under the old king Jayanaga. Sasanka being the viceroy of Magadha must have been the most powerful figure in the kingdom, and therefore it could not have been difficult for him to make himself the architect of the Gauda Empire. Thus the comparative study of the coins of Sasanka and Jayanaga suggests that Sasanka followed Jayanaga. Whether it was a peaceful succession or otherwise cannot be said at present. Sasanka may have been an usurper, and therefore continued to put the name of Jayanaga on his coins to impress on the people that succession from Jayanaga was direct and legitimate. It is significant that on some of the coins of Sasanka there is no mention of 'Jaya

(1) I. A. XIV, p. 68 ; JNSIII, pp. 2 lf.

(2) CCGDBM. pp. 150-51.

(3) WATTERS II p. 116.

(1). Such coins (2) may have been issued in the later years of Sasanka when his position was secure in Gauda.

The later history of Sasanka shows that he was a man of restless energy and unbounded ambition. He would have been certainly the last person to be satisfied with the subordinate status of a 'Mahasamanta', specially when as a viceroy he controlled a larger and also more important territory than the overlord. Therefore his anxiety to become the master of the Gauda empire may easily be understood. But as a wise statesman he acted with moderation, and even when he became the real master of the kingdom he continued to show honour to Jayanaga by stamping his name with his own on his coins. It may be that the people of the empire might have welcomed the succession or usurpation of Sasanka after the old king Jayanaga, who was a contemporary of Sarvavarman and Mahasengupta, at a time when royal sovereignty was not stable with one person in Northern India, as hinted by Bana, (3) and specially when the Maukharis, ousted from Magadha by the Gaudas, must have been feeling sore.

(ii) *Tye accession and conquests of Sasanka*

In view of the paucity of materials at our disposal, it is impossible to state in detail the exact course of events of Sasanka's assumption of the sovereignty of the Gauda empire. It is very unfortunate that while his rival Harsa had Bana and a sympathetic Yuan Chwang to paint his life in rosy colours, Sasanka, who is in no way inferior to Harsa in achievements and statecraft, had only prejudiced authors to tell his incomplete and distorted story. In view of the fact that Sasanka was dead before 637 A.D., and is known to have been ruling in 619 A.D., we may not be wrong in assuming that he came to occupy the throne at

(1) CCGDBM., p. 148. No. 612, Pl. XXIV.

(2) This coin is much lighter in weight than others and is of very fine metal. On this coin on the obverse Allan hesitantly reads 'Jaya?', but I had the privilege to examine the coin with Mr. Allan and the legend is certainly not Jaya, and Allan agrees with this remark. Allan considers the coin to be a contemporary imitation. There is another coin of Sasanka in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, on the obverse of which, Smith hesitatingly reads 'Saja'. Its weight is 145.6 the usual average weight of Sasanka's coins.

(3) H. C. (CT) p. 168, 'Sri' the goddess of sovereignty is roaming'.

Karnasuvarna in about 602 A.D. when we know that he was contemporary of Harsa in 606 A.D. The prosperity of Gauda under Sasanka is indirectly proved by the coins, which are of finer metal than those of Jayanaga, and one of them is 'unique for its purity of metal, fabric and weight.' The reverses of the coins of Jaya and Sasanka treat the same subject the abhiseka (1) but on the coins of Jaya we have only one elephant sprinkling water on the Laksmi, while on the coins of Sasanka we have elephants on either side. Does this suggest greater power and pomp of Sasanka?

Sasanka was a powerful king ruling over a vast territory. This is, indirectly of course, attested by Bana, Yuan Chwang, and M.M.K.. The various inscriptions of the time which have lately come to light show that his empire was extensive. The style and the provenance of his coins tell the same story. Between 602 A.D., when he came to the throne, and 606 A.D., when he killed Rajyavardhana, he appears to have made his weight felt in the countries of Dandabhukti, Utkala and Ganjam. He was master of Magadha and controlled almost the whole of Bengal.

From the Ganjam plates of Madhavaraja II, dated the Gupta year 300 (-619-20 A.D.) we know that Sasanka was recognised as the 'Maharajadhiraja' in Kongudha (Ganjam) mandala at that time (2). There can be no doubt that the Maharajadhiraja Sasanka of the Ganjam plates was the same Sasanka who killed Rajyavardhana. The stages before the conquest of the Ganjam district of Orissa were not known. In the absence of any proof of the authority of Sasanka over the northern part of Orissa, it was a matter of speculation whether Sasanka controlled the modern districts of Balasore and Cuttack, through which he must have passed for advancing to the Ganjam region. B.C. Majumdar realised how difficult it was for Narendragupta (Sasanka) to come 'upon Puri without traversing the districts of Balasore and Cuttuck,' and how could he, from his seat in Bengal, 'keep the Kongada country under his rule when the northern portions of Orissa

(1) CCGDBM. p. CV.

(2) E. I. VI. pp. 143 ff.

were under the rule of another house of rulers.' To meet the difficulty he was constrained to suggest that Sasanka may have swooped down upon Kongoda (Ganjam) through the road from Bengal to Puri through Dalbhum and the hill tracts of Orissa. (1) But fortunately we are now in a position to state that Sasanka took the usual and more convenient route from Bengal to Ganjam, through the districts of Midnapur and Balasore. From the two copper plates of Sasanka's time found in Midnapur (2) it is clear that Sasanka was master of Dandabhukti and Utkala (Northern Orissa). These plates are dated, but most fortunately the dates are very difficult to decipher. Majumdar (3) reads the year 19 or 309 (G.E.) on the first plate and the year 8 on the second. He takes the dates to refer to the period of the office of the feudatories and not to the regnal year of the sovereign. This is very unusual. We feel that the plates must have been dated in the regnal years of the overlord Sasanka. The numerical figures on the first plate are very unusual, and nothing of the kind appear on the inscriptions of the Guptas or even on those from Nepal. The first numeral appears to resemble the first numeral of the date of the inscription of Buddharaaja (4), and the latter has been read as denoting '300'. On this analogy the first letter denoting the date on the first plate of Sasanka may be read as '300'. But it may be stated that there is also some difference between the two as will be clear from the examination of the plates in question. Because of similarity between this letter with the first letter signifying the days of the month in the same plate (5), Majumdar read it as '10'. But he was aware of the difference between the two. The second numeral which is very probably the sign for 'la', has been read by the learned scholar to be '9', on the analogy of the Paharpur plate, where the same letter has been read by Dikshit to mean '9' (6). In the Svalpa-Vetura grant of Ganga

(1) B. C. Majumdar—Orissa in the Making, pp. 110.

(2) JASB (Letters) XI. p. 1 ff.

(3) *ibid.*

(4) E. I. XII p. 30 f.

(5) JASBL. XI. p. 1ff. (Letters).

(6) E. I. XX pp. '61 ff.

Anantavarman, the numeral 'la' has been read as '9'. (1) But it may be pointed out that neither of the learned scholars has cited any authority for reading '9' from the sign 'la'. The numeral 'la' has been read as '3' in line 26 of the Chicacole plates of Devendravarman. Buhler read it for 3 in the Jirjinji grant of Indravaman (2). Subbarao, (3), D.C. Sarkar, (4) and Ghosh (5) read the same sign in the inscription as denoting '30'. Buhler read the syllable 'la' in the Chicacole plate as 3. (6) In the Table number 71 of Ojha's Bhartiya-pracina-lipi-lama, the numerical syllable 'la' has been read as 3 in the three inscriptions belonging to Sivaskandavarman and Jayavarman (7). It is particularly important to note that the first two signs of the above table closely resemble the second numeral of the first plate of Sasanka, denoting both the years and the day of the month. In view of this we feel that we may be nearer truth in reading the dates on the plate as year 303 or 13, and the day as 13th of the month. The first numeral of the syllables denoting day must be '10', as Majumdar has read on the analogy of the Biharsharif inscription of Mahendrapala (8). The date on the second plate is the year 8, as read by Majumdar (9). Therefore Sasanka was certainly ruling over the modern districts of Midnapur and Northern Orissa as is clear from the plates under discussion, either in 622-23 A.D., if the first plate is dated in the Gupta era, or in 615 A.D., if it is dated in the 13th year of his reign. It may be pointed out that the date marks for the year on the second plate are very much damaged, and though it has been provisionally read as being dated in the 8th year, it may have been actually dated in the Gupta era, as are the Ganjam plates of Madhava varaja II (10) or the Patiakella grant of Maharaja Sivaraja

- (1) *ibid* XXIV. pp. 139 ff.
- (2) *E. I. III.* p. 131 ff. Buhler's Table IX. Col. XV, 2.
- (3) *JAHRS.* VII, p. 229 ff.
- (4) *Ibid.*
- (5) *E. I. XXV.* pp. 281 ff.
- (6) *Indian Palaeography*, p. 78.
- (7) *Bharatiya-Pracina-Lipi-Mala*, Table 71.
- (8) *M. A. S. I.* No. 66, p. 105, Pl. XI d.
- (9) *JASBL* XI. pp. 1 ff.
- (10) *E. I. VI.* pp. 143 ff.

or the Patikella grant of Maharaja Sivaraja (1) or the Soro plate A. of Maharaja Sambhuyasas (2). But it is equally possible that the Midnapur plates are dated in regnal years, as are the other three plate from Soro and the Balasore plate of Maharaja Bhanu.

Four copper plates have been discovered in Soro in the Balasore district of Orissa (3). From plates B and C we come to know that Mahabaladhkrita Antaranga and Mahasandhivigrahika Somadatta made grants of land to Dhruvamisrasvamin, Arungamisrasvamin and others in the year 15 (4). From Midnapur plate number I of Sasanka we know that in the year 13 (read 9 by Majumdar) on the 13th day of Bhadra, 'while the illustrious Sasanka is protecting the earth.....Dandabuhkti along with Utkala is ruled by the illustrious feudatory Maharaja Somadatta, (5) The learned scholar has adduced very good reasons for identifying Somadatta of this plate with Somadatta of the Soro plates. He has rightly presumed that the unnamed suzerain of the latter plates was Sasanka. (6) The late Mr. N.G. Majumdar (7) on the basis of the difference in in the palaeography between the Ganjam plates of Madhavaraja II and the Sorro plates held that the Soro plates belong to the earlier period and should be assigned to the Kalacuri era. But Majumdar (8) has conclusively proved that the soro plates and the Midnapur plates of the time of Sasanka betray exactly the same palaeograpnic characteristics, and therefore both sets of plates belong to the same period. The date 260 on the Soro plate (9) may therefore be read as of the Gupta era. From the Saro plate D (10) we learned

- (1) *ibid*, IX. pp. 285 ff.
- (2) *ibid*. XXI ll. pp. 191 ff. N. G. Majumdar read the date in the Kaiacurl era, but Majumdar has shown that it should belong to the Gupta era. (JASBL. XI pp. lff)
- (3) E. I. XXIII. pp. 197 ff.
- (4) *ibid*.
- (5) JASBL. XI. pp. 1 ff.
- (6) *ibid*.
- (7) E. I. XXIII. pp. 197 ff.
- (8) JASBL. XI. pp. lff.
- (9) E. I. XXIII. p. 197 ff.
- (10) *ibid*.

that Mahapratihara Maharaja Bhanudatta in the year 5, meditating on the feet of his suzerain, made grants of land to Priyamitravamin, Vatamitravamin Dhruvamitravamin and Arungamitravamin. This Bhanudatta has been identified with Mahapratihara-Maharaja Samanta Sri Bhanu of the Balasore copper-plate inscription (1). This is also dated in the year 5, and in it mention is made of the fact that the feudatory was meditating on the feet of the sovereign overlord (Paramabhattacharaka). The donees of the grant are Priyamitravamin, Vatamitravamin, Dhruvamitravamin and Arungamitravamin. The donees of this grant are the same as of the Soro plate D, though the Balasore plate is earlier by a little over three months than the Soro plate (2) In Soro plates B and C the donees are, besides others, Dhruvamitravamin and Arungamitravamin. N.G. Majumdar, the editor of the Soro plates, opined that "there could be no difference of more than a generation between Bhanduata and Somadatta" (3) R.C. Majumdar concluded that Somadatta was followed by Bhanudatta in the government of Uttara-Tosali on the grounds that the names of the two donees in the B and C plates from Soro reappear along with others in plate D of the same set, and the name Arungasvami is changed into Arungamitravamin in the latter (4). We beg to differ from the conclusion arrived at by the learned scholar. The fact may be just the reverse. In the Soro plate D and in the Balasore plate of Sri Bhanu the donees' names end in 'mitra', but in the Soro plates D and C the name of Arungamitravamin is changed into Arungasvamin. It appears that the real name was Arrunagamitravamin and later on it was shortened into Arrungasvamin. (5) The two other donees Priyamitravamin, and Vatamitravamin who do not appear in the Soro plates of Somadatta, were probably dead. It may have some significance that Dhruvamitravamin and Arungamitravamin appear

(1) IHQ. XI. pp. 611 ff.; E. I. XXVI. pp. 239 ff.

(2) E. I. XXVI. pp. 239 ff.

(3) *ibid*, XXIII. pp. 197 ff.

(4) JASBL. X. I. pp. 1 ff.

(5) E. I. XXIII. P. 197 ff; IHQ. XI. pp. 611 ff; E. I. XXVI. pp. 239 ff

last in the list of the donees in the Soro and Balasore plates of Bhanudatta, while in the Soro plates B and C Dhruvamimitrasavamin and Arungasvamin are mentioned at the head of the list. Moreover as the dates on the copper plates of the feudatories must have been in the regnal years of the overlord Sasanka, the date of Bhanudatta's plates (1) being 5, it is obvious that Bhanudatta must have come earlier than Somedatta, whose earliest date is probably 13 in the regnal year of his overlord. The foregoing discussion makes it clear that before the 5th year of his reign Sasanka was master of Uttara-Tosali in modern Balasore and Midnapur districts. From the Patiakella inscription of the (Gupta) year 283 (-602-3 A.D.) we learn that the sovereignty of the Mana family was recognised at least in the Cuttuck district of Orissa (2). The imperial titles in the inscription may refer to Sambhayusas. From the Soro plate A it is clear that in the year 260 Maharaja Sambhuyasas was granted land in the Balasore district, then situated in Uttara Tosali (3), N.G. Majumdar thought that the date belonged to the Kalacuri era (4); but R.C. Majumdar has conclusively proved that the date should be assigned to the Gupta era (5). It is therefore clear that at least from G.E. 260 to 283 the sovereignty of the Mana rulers was recognised in Northern and Central Orissa. It is certainly significant that while imperial titles are not given to Sambhuyasas in the Soro plate, in the Patiakella inscription he seems to be referred to as Pramabhattacharaka Devatadhideva (6). He belonged to the Mudgala family (7). It is also notable that Maharaja Sambhuyasas is referred to as 'va (ba) ppa padanudhyatah' (8). This may suggest that in 260 G.E. (-579-80 A.D.) Sambhuyasas may have been subordinate to his father, but in 283 G.E. (-602-3 A.D.), the date of the Patiakella grant (9), he was the supreme

(1) E. I. XXIII. pp. 197. ff.

(2) E. I. IX. pp. 285 ff.

(3) *ibid.* XXIII. pp. 197 ff.

(4) *ibid.*

(5) JASBL, XI. pp. 1 ff.

(6) E. I. IX. pp. 285 ff.

(7) *ibid.*; *ibid.*, XXIII. pp. 197 ff.

(8) E. I. XXIII pp. 197 ff.

(9) *ibid.*, lx. pp. 285 ff.

lord himself. Sambhuyasas may have belonged to the Mana family. Whether the sovereignty of the Mana rulers extended further south to the Ganjam district, where the Sailodbhava rulers are given feudatory titles, as suggested by Majumdar (1), may or may not be correct. Therefore the conquest of Orissa, at least Northern and Central Orissa, must have happened between the years 602-3 A.D., the last known date of Sambhuyasas and the 5th year of Sasanka's reign, the date of Bhanudatta's plates. If the accession of Sasanka took place in about 602 A.D., as assumed in these pages, then the conquest of Orissa must have been over before 607 A.D. This success must have been achieved against the Mana ruler Sambhuyasas. It appears reasonable to conclude that after the conquest of Northern Orissa, as is clear from Sasanka's Midnapur plates he advanced further south, made himself master of the Cuttack district, and extended his dominion at least up to the Ganjam district in the south, as is clear from the Ganjam plates of Madhavaraja II (2). Bhanudatta appears to have been appointed to hold charge of the newly conquered province of Northern Tosali or Northern Orissa and Dandabhukti (Midnapur). Bhanudatta was followed by Somadatta. It appears from a close study of the Midnapur plates of Sasanka that in the beginning Utkala and Dandabhukti were separately governed. In the 8th year we find Mahapratihara Subhakriti ruling the Dandabhukti (3), but in the 13th year Somadatta is governing Utkala with Dandabhukti. From the Soro plates B and C we find that Somadatta was ruling the Sarephaharavisaya (identified with the village Soro in Balasore district), which was situated in Uttara-Tosali in Odhravisaya. (4) This shows that at that time Odra and Utkala meant the same region, i.e. Northern Orissa. Dandabhukti comprised the modern district of Midnapur. Traditions also connect Sasanka with Midnapur.

(1) JAHRS X. pp. 1. ff.

(2) E. I. VI. pp. 143 ff.

(3) JASBL. XI. pp. 1 ff.

(4) E. I. XXIII. pp. 197 ff.

Sasanka certainly exercised control over almost the whole of Bengal. His conquests in Orissa prove his sovereignty over South-western Bengal, including ancient Tamralipti (Tamluk). From the *Harsacarita* we learn that he was king of Gauda, and Yuan Chwang expressly informs us that his capital was at Karnasuvarna. Thus he was master of Central and Western Bengal. A coin of Sasanka was found with the Rajalila type of coin of Narendraditya (identified with Samacaradeva) at Muhammadpur, near Jessore (1). This may suggest that Sasanka's authority extended even to the eastern parts of Bengal. But it may be pointed out that coins are very portable and it is very possible to find them in places which may have nothing to do with their issuer. But we are on surer grounds in assuming that Sasanka ruled over Northern Bengal or ancient Pundravaridhana (2). A tradition connects a tank in the Borga district of Northern Bengal, with the name of Sasanka. During this period no other power is known to have exercised rule over this region. M.M.K. clearly associates Sasanka with Pundra (3). This conclusion is confirmed by a newly found inscription in Assam, where we are told that a Gauda army crossed the Lauhitya (4) into the Kamarupa country. This could have been easily done from Pundravardhana.

Sasanka's dominion included Magadha. This is clearly proved by the account of the Chinese pilgrim who mentions Sasanka's activities in Magadha (5). His Seal-matrix was found at Rohtasgarh (6). His coins have been found at Nalanda (7) and Gaya (8). His dominion is said to have extended up to Banares in the west (9).:

Sasanka had succeeded to the Gupta heritage, and would naturally have tried to imitate his distinguished Predecessor Mahasenagupta in attempting to make his

(1) CCGDBM. p. CXXVII.

(2) Sen. op. cit.

(3) I. H. I. p. 50. Text No. 715.

(4) JARS. XI. (1944) pp. 33. ff.

(5) Watters LI, pp. 92, 114-15.

(6) C. I. I. p. 283.

(7) ASIAR. 1924-25. p. 136.

(8) C. M. I. PL. II. no. 5, p. 19.

(9) I. H. I. p. 49.

weight felt in Kamarupa. In a new set of copper plates discovered at Doobi in the Kamarupa district and belonging to Bhaskaravarman, it is stated that the Gauda army invaded Kamarupa after crossing the Lauhitya, and was defeated. (1) . . The record gives "a vivid description of the battle that ensued between the Bengal army (Gaudabala) on the one side and the two Kamarupa princes, Supratisthitavarman and Bhaskaravaraman on the other; and" the inscriptions further state that the Bengal army was defeated and the two princes of Kamarupa returned home victoriously" (2) From the inscriptions it is clear that it was not the Kamarupa army which had taken the offensive, but it was the Gauda army which was proceeding towards the country of Kamarupa after crossing the Lauhitya. We are further informed that the victory did not lead to any part of Bengal being occupied by the forces of Kamarupa. Therefore the war, from the point of view of the Kamarupa dynasty, was defensive, though successful. This set of plates is certainly earlier than the set of the Nidhanpur plates of Bhaskaravarman, wherein it is stated that Bhaskaravaraman was in possession of Karnasuvarna the capital of the Gaudas. (3) The new set of plates from Doobi proves that Supratisthitavarman was a king and must have succeeded his father Susthitavarman (4) who had suffered a defeat at the hands of Mahasenagupta. (5) This Gauda invasion must have happened before the accession of Bhaskaravarman and after the death of Susthitavaraman, who must have been mentioned if he was alive at that time. The mention of Supratisthitavarman-kataka in the Nidhanpur plates (6) suggests that Supratisthitavarman had reorganised the army. This was probably done after the defeat sustained by Susthitavarman at the hands of Mahasenagupta (7) . The reor-

(1) JARS. XI 3 .pp .f

(2) Ibid.

(3) E. I. XIII. pp. 65 ff.

(4) J. A. R. S. XI p. 33 ff.

(5) C. I. I. III No. 42 PP 20 ff

(6) E. I. XII. pp. 65 ff.

(7) C. I. I. III. no. 42 pp. 205ff.

ganisation of the army by Supratisthitavarman may have alarmed the Gaudas, who decided to take the offensive before it was too late. This may explain their invasion of Kamarupa. The Gauda king who was responsible for this invasion was either Jayanaga or Sasanka, more probably the latter, whose warlike activities are well known. The invasion, though it failed in its immediate objective, must have created a sense of danger in the minds of the rulers of Kamarupa. This served as the real background of Bhaskaravarman's mission to Harsa.

Thus Sasanka with his capital at Karnasuvarna ruled over a large part of Northern India, which included parts of the modern United Provinces, the whole of Bihar and Orissa and a very large part of Bengal. The rise of Sasanka at the head of such a vast empire was by rapid stages, and was attained before he came into conflict with the Maukharis and Vardhanas. This is covertly alluded to by Bana: when Rajya and Harsa meet one another after the death of their father and the whole city is in mourning, Bana refers to the rise of the clear-flecked moon in the firmament (1). He observes "prakatakalankam udayamanam visankatavisanotkirna-panka sankara sank rasakura sakkarakakudakutasamakasamakasatakase sasan kamandalam" (2). Nowhere in the Harsacarita is Sasanka directly referred to by his name, and the reference to the rise of the blotted moon certainly refers to Sasanka, the king of Gauda. "The word used for the moon (sasanka) confirms the commentator's statement in page 195 text) that he was the Gauda king" (3). The reference to the moon, Siva and the bull in connection with Sasanka reminds us of the Siva, the Bull and the full moon on his coins (4). The use of the word 'mandalam' is very significant. It shows that Sasanka had continued the tradition of Kautily's policy and was at the head of the circle of vassal states. Bana makes him not a petty king of Gauda but a king at the head of a circle of states. Arya-manju-sri-

(1) H. C. (CT) p. 168.

(2) H. C. (Text) (parab). p. 178.

(3) H. C. (CT) p. 275.

(4) CCGDBM. p. 147, PL. XXIII, 14 and 15 and 16; XXIV. 1.

mula kalpa also indirectly proves that Sasanka was already a great king before he met Rajyaardhana. About R. (Rajyavardhana) we are told that he will be 'as powerful as Soma (Sasanka) (1). This certainly suggests a status and power of Sasanka which an author prejudiced against him and biased in favour of Rajyavardhana, could not but mention as an object worth comparison. At another place in the same work we are informed that Soma (-Sasanka) was "an unparalleled hero and will become king up to Benares and beyond". (2)

III. *Sasanka the Mankharis and the Vardhanas.* ,,,

It is clear that between 602 and 605 A.D. Sasanka's hegemony was established over a large part of Northern India. His rapid rise to the position of an all-India power had profound effects on the international, or rather interstate, relations of India. The Maukhari king Grahavarman sought the alliance of the powerful Pusyabhuti family of Thanesavara and offered himself as candidate for the hands of Rajyasri, the daughter of Prabhakaravardhana.(3) The latter had come into conflict with Devagupta of Malwa (4) and therefore welcomed this alliance. After the Pusyabhuti-Maukahri alliance, caused partly by the rise of Sasanka, the counter alliance between the Gaudas and the Guptas of Malwa against their enemies - the Maukharis and the Vardhanas respectively - could not be far off. (5) It is no doubt true that, while we have positive literary evidence about the alliance of the Maukharis with the Vardhanas, we have only to assume the Gauda-Gupta entente. The subsequent events make such an eventuality not only probable but almost a certainty, though there is no warrant for the assumption that "the Gaudas and East Malwa were allied even before the time of Sasanka and Devagupta" (6)

(1) I. Hl. p. 50.

(2) *ibid*, p. 49.

(3) H. C. (CT.) p. 122.

(4) See *supra*.

(5) It is really an irony of History that, while Mahasenagupta had sought the alliance with the Vardhanas against the growing menace of the Maukharis, his successor Devagupta made an alliance with the Gaudas against the Vardhanas.

(6) JASBL. XI. pp. 69 ff.

Assured of the powerful support of Sasanka, Devagupta attacked Kanauj, killed Grahavarman, imprisoned Rajyasri and was planning to attack Thanesvara, immediately after he heard of the death of Prahakarvardhana. (1) Devagupta may have been waiting for Sasanka to join, and so did not march towards Thanesvara, but was planning to attack it. But before Sasanka could appear on the scene, Rajyavardhana acted with terrific rapidity. Leaving Harsa to take care of Thanesvara, probably to counter any surprise attack and also any panic among the people during the critical situation, Rajya started with Bhandi and ten-thousand horsemen 'to lay the royal house of Malava in ruin' (2). Success followed his efforts (3), and the Malava king (who was certainly Devagupta), was severely defeated and thousands of elephants, uncountable ornaments of various kings, beautiful women of Malwa, numerous regal paraphernalia and the vassals of the Malava king were captured by Rajyavardhana. (4) From the Madhuban and Bankshera plates of Harsa we learn that Rajyavardhana had subdued in battle 'king Devagupta and others who resembled wicked horses' (5) Thus it is clear that Devagupta was thoroughly defeated by him and a large booty fell into the hands of Rajyavardhana. It is not clearly stated that Devagupta lost his life in the contest. One thing is clear, that as a result of the defeat of the ruling king of Malwa, the country passed at least temporarily into the hands of the Kalachuris, as we find Buddharaja issuing a land-grant from Vidisa in 609 A.D. (6)

But Rajyavardhana had to face a more powerful and skilful foe in Sasanka. The history of Kanauj since the murder of Grahavarman is crowded with events, and unfortunately their sequence is not absolutely clear. Sasanka appears to have occupied Kanauj, as Rajyasri managed to escape from there 'during the Gauda trouble'

(1) H.C. (CT.) p. 173.

(2) *ibid*, p. 175.

(3) *ibid*, p. 178.

(4) *ibid*. p. 255.

(5) E. I. I. p. 73 ff; IV p. 209.

(6) *ibid*, XII, pp. 30 ff.

(1) In some manuscripts of the *Harsacarita* instead of 'guptanamana grihite kusasthale', we have 'gaudair grihite'.

(2). What actually happened was that before Sasanka could join Devagupta, Rajyavardhana swooped down upon the latter. Devagupta, who was waiting for his ally to join in an attack on Thaneshvara, was forced to give battle to Rajyavardhana. Devagupta joined battle away from Kanauj, probably en route to Thaneshvara or even on his way to Malwa. After the defeat of Devagupta, Rajyavardhana marched towards Kanauj, but before he could reach the place he was forestalled by Sasanka, who had hurried to meet his ally, but was too late. It is clear that as a result of his victory over Devagupta, Rajyavardhana did not come automatically into possession of Kanauj. Had he ever come to occupy the imperial city, he must have released his imprisoned sister immediately. But she was not released by her brother. Now a struggle between Sasanka and Rajyavardhana was inevitable, as the former occupied Kanauj, the capital of his (Rajya's) brother-in-law, and his sister was enchained there. The result of this conflict was fatal to Rajyavardhana, who was murdered in 606 A.D. (3)

Thus within a few months, the thrones of Kanauj and Thaneshvara fell vacant in a gloomy atmosphere. Harsa, a young man of barely sixteen, had to face problems which could have baffled the stoutest of hearts any time in history. But he rose equal to the occasion. That he immediately after learning of the unfortunate death of his bro-

(1) H. C. (CT.) p. 251.

(2) Sen. op. cit. p. 267-68, Note 4.

(3) There is some controversy over the manner in which Rajyavardhana met his death at the hands of Sasanka. Bana says that 'the Gauda king allured Rajyavardhana to confidence by false civilities' and 'thus weaponless, confiding alone, he was despatched in his quarters'—(H. C. CT. p. 173). Yuan Chwang states that "Sasankaraja, hating the superior military talents of this king (Rajyavardhana), made a plot and murdered him" (The life, p. 85.) From the Si-yu-ke' we learn that Sasanka or his ministers called Rajyavardhana to a conference and murdered him (Records, I. p. 210; Watters. On Yuan Chwang I. p. 343). According to the Madhuban copper plate inscription of Harsa, Rajyavardhana "in consequence of his adherence to a promise gave up his life" (E. I. I. p. 73 ff). In view of these references, many scholars like Vaidya (HMHT. I.

ther, ascended the ancestral throne of Thanessvara is undoubted, and there is no basis for Smith's statement that the nobles of Thanessvara hesitated to offer their allegiance to him (1). From the Harsacarita it is clear that the nobles immediately rallied round Harsa, who accomplished with all the forms of royalty (2). Vaidya has rightly shown, and in this has been followed by subsequent writers, that Yuan Chwang's account of the hesitation of Harsa in accepting the throne is in connection with Kanauj rather than with Thanessvara (3).

When Harsa heard of the sad fate of his brother and the advice of Sinhananda "to so deal that for the future no other follows his (Sasanka's) example (4), he took a vow that "unless in a limited number of days I clear the earth of the Gaudas and make it resound with fetters on the feet of all kings who are excited to insolence by the elasticity of their bows, then will I hurl my sinful self like a moth into

and others believe that Sasanka was guilty of some foul play in his dealing with Rajavardhana, who met his death through the treachery of the king of Gauda. But some scholars like R. C. Majumdar (HBRI. p. 71-76), R. P. Chanda (GR. p. 8 ff.) and R. D. Bannerji (B. I. p. 107) have cast doubts on the story of Bana, Yuan Chwang and the scribes of Harsa. They point out differences between the story of Bana and the Chinese pilgrim. In view of complete absence of any corroborative account from any other source they are not inclined to accept in toto the statements of Bana and Yuan Chwang, who were partial to Harsa and interested in painting his enemy Sasanka in very bad colours. Moreover they point out that it is difficult to believe that Rajavardhana would attend a conference in the camp of his enemy without any precaution. It is equally possible that the allusion of Rajya meeting his death in consequence of his promise, may refer to his promise to release his sister, and that he faced Sasanka with men and materials that had suffered some depletion due to the war against the king of Malwa. Though we feel that there must have been some substratum of truth in the story of Bana and Yuan Chwang, which is indirectly confirmed by epigraphy of the period, the matter may be considered still subjudice in the absence of any evidence from the other side.

(1) EHL, 4th edition, p. 451.

(2) H. C. (CT). pp. 180-94.

(3) HMHI. I. p. 7; TK. pp. 68-70; Harsa. p. 28, note I.

(4) H. C. CT. p. 182.

an oil-fed flame" (1) He ordered Avanti, the supreme minister of war and peace, to issue the necessary proclamation and make adequate preparations. (2) From the account of Bana it is clear that huge preparations were made by Harasa to wage war against the Gauda king. Unfortunately we do not know what arrangements were made by Sasanka to meet this grave emergency. It is possible to assume that the heavy financial burdens necessary to meet this meance led to the issuing of actually cooper coins with a thin wash of gold over them to be used as gold coins. (3)

But it appears that he left Kanauj in the hands of his officer named 'gupta', who released Rajyasri, probably to divert the attention of Harsa, (4) or the 'Gupta kula-

(1) Ibid, p. 187.

(2) Ibid, p. 188.

(3) App. I

(4) Ibid p. 251 D.C. Ganguli (JBORS. XIX. p. 407, note 48) thinks that this 'Gupta' was Devagupta. This is a gratuitous suggestion. Devagupta the king of Malwa was thoroughly defeated by Rajyavardhana and therefore there is no ground to suppose that he conquered Kanauj from Sasanka when we have reasons to suspect that there was an alliance between the two. We have no basis at all for assuming that Devagupta and Sasanka fell out among themselves after the death of Rajyavardhana. Moreover the Malwa king who is so badly abused by Bana can hardly be referred to as 'kulaputra' as 'Gupta' is. Moreover, when Devagvpta had imprisoned Rajyasri, there is no reason to assume that he was responsible for her release. Then Devagupta is spoken of very disparagingly in the inscriptions of Harsa, which could never be the case if he had released Rajyasri. We have already seen that in some manuscripts of the Harsacarita instead 'gupta-namna grihite Kusasthale' (गुप्तनाम्ना गृहीते कुशस्थले) we have 'gaudair grihite' (जौडैगृहीते), which shows that 'Gupta' came from Gauda. Some have identified this 'Kulaputra Gupta' with Sasanka, the king of Gauda, who is called Narendra-gupta in some manuscripts of Harsacarita (E. I. I. pp. 73 ff.) Whether Sasanka had another name as Narendragupta must be proved on the basis of more solid grounds than the solitary reference by Buhler. Then Sasanka would be the last person to be called 'kula putra' by Bana, who only abuses him. So the Gupta was a Gauda officer.

putra' might have been a friend of the Maukharis (1). A more compelling reason for Sasanka to hurry to his capital was the attitude of his eastern neighbour, the King of Kamarupa

Bhaskaravarman, who succeeded Supratisthitavarman on the throne of Kamarupa, must have been feeling alarmed at the all round successes of his hostile neighbour, Sasanka. The absence of Sasanka in the west away from his capital, might have encouraged the king of Kamarupa to entertain some aggressive intentions against the Gauda king. The news of Sasanka's falling out with the Vardhanas and Harsa's vast preparations against him, induced Bhaskaravarman to seek an alliance with Harsa against the common enemy. Shrewd Sasanka must have got an inkling of what was going on in the mind of the king of Kamarupa probably by his foreign espionage. This explains his evacuation of Kanauj before meeting the challenge from Harsa. That Sasanka was correct was proved by subsequent events. Bhaskaravarman sent an envoy to Harsa who met him in a camp on his march from Thanescara against the enemy. Hamsavega reported to Harsa that "the sovereign of Kamarupa desires with your majesty (Harsa) an unperishable alliance"; (2) Harsa welcomed the offer, and the mission of Hamsavega was successful. Harsa sent valuable presents for Bhaskaravarman and asked the envoy 'to use his influence in such a way that my (Harsa) yearning to see Kumara (Bhaskaravarman) may not torment me long'. (3)

The events that followed the conclusion of this alliance are not clearly known. Many scholars have readily assumed that immediately afterwards the combined armies of Harsa and Bhaskaravarman invaded Gauda and defeated an Sasanka. Vaidya held that Sasanka submitted to Harsa, and was pardoned by him, and allowed to retain his kingdom. Pannikar (4) thought it probable that 'the Gauda king (Sasanka) accepted Harsa's suzerainty and was allowed by him to rule his state as a vassal. A mould at Rohtasgarh

(1) L.H.Q. VIII. pp. 1 ff.

(2) H.C.C.T. p. 218.

(3) *ibid* p. 219.

(4) Sri Harsa, p. 17.

describes him as a Mahasamanta" N. Ray takes the same line and observes " Sasanka afterwards (after the death of Rajyavardhana) was defeated by the combined forces of Bhandi and Bhaskaravarman and probably it was then that the Rohtasgarh seal was inscribed which speaks of him as Mahasamanta" (1). The facts that are known do not make it easy to agree with the so simple a conclusion. It is impossible to reconcile the fact of Harsa taking vow to exterminate the Gaudas with the alleged assumption that he would ever pardon the murderer of his brother and appoint him as a high feudatory to hold charge of the important province of Magadha even if we concede the most unlikely possibility of such a powerful king as Sasanka agreeing to serve as a vassal of his enemy. Some have gone so far as to believe in the utter discomfiture of Sasanka that it has been suggested in a learned journal that Sasanka was defeated by Harsa and was forced to give up a part of his dominion and marry his daughter to Harsa, who permitted him to use the title of 'Maharajadhiraja', 'otherwise it is not possible to account for the continued survival of Sasanka as king of Gauda for the next seven years' (2) The above remarks are completely imaginary and the product of a prejudiced mind, not deserving to be taken seriously. On the basis of the Nidhanpur copper-plate inscriptions of Bhaskarvarman issued from Karnasuvarna (3) Barua held that the alliance between Harsa and Bhaskaravarman 'was disastrous for Sasanka,' as "while Harsa's cousin Bhandi attacked from the west, Bhaskarvarman at once attacked from the east and occupied Karnasuvarna; being defeated from two sides Sasanka fled towards Orissa" (4). The late Mr. R.D. Bannerji was also 'in no doubt about the fact that eventually he (Sasanka) was driven out of Karnasuvarna', and it was "quite possible that this event had taken place before the dates of the Ganjam plates and at that time he lost his possession in Bengal and was the

(1) C. I. L. III no. 78 p. 283 f.

(2) IHQ. XII. pp. 142-43.

(3) E.I. XII. pp. 65 ff.

(4) Barua, op. cit. pp. 65-66.

master of Orissa only" (1). Heras also concluded that Sasank was driven out of Magadha by Harsa (2). Yuan Chwang, who mentions the king of Kamarupa and Magadha, does not mention the ruling kings of Karnasuvarna, Pundra-dravardhan, Tamaralipti and Samatata. The conclusion which has been generally drawn from this is that at that time these countries had no kings and were dependencies of Harsa. Manju-sri-mula-kalpa also refers to the defeat of Soma; Sasanka) by 'Ha' (Harsa). (3)

On the other hand there are important considerations which throw serious doubts on the theory of the defeat of Sasanka by Harsa. Bana, who describes in detail the preparations by Harsa against Sasanka, makes no mention of his victory over Sasanka. This silence becomes all the more significant when we find Bana referring to Harsa's victory against the king of Sindh and the king of "an inaccessible land of the Himalaya", but being silent over the alleged success against the most serious enemy. (4) The incident of the falling of the golden seal on the ground, which was taken by the courtiers to be a sign of bad luck, might have been mentioned by Bana to suggest indirectly that Harsa met with failure in his chosen mission. (5) Yuan Chwang, who mentions the fact that Sasanka had murdered Rajyavardhana (6) does not even indirectly refer to his defeat at the hands of Harsa. The Chinese pilgrim was very much biased against Sasanka, as is clear from the *Records* and the *Life*, and therefore if Harsa has thoroughly defeated Sasanka, this event could never have been ignored by the pilgrim, partial to Harsa. It is important to note that the pilgrim mentions important events that happened in the recent past. He refers to Harsa's failure against Pulakesin, (7) the rise of Purnavarman in Magadha, the change in the political condition of Hiranyaparvata, (8) Lampa (Laghman), (9) and

(1) History of Orissa. Vol. 1, p. 129.

(2) JBBRAS (N. S.) 1=II. p. 116 ff.

(3) I.H.I. p. 50.

(4) H.C. (CT. p. 76.

(5) *ibid*, pp. 198-99.

(6) The Life (Boal) p. 83.

(7) *ibid*, p. 147.

(8) Watters II p. 115.

(9) *ibid* p. 181.

others. Naturally the success of Harsa against Sasanka was too important an event to be missed by the pilgrim. Then according to the account of the pilgrim Sasanka was followed by Purnavarman in Magadha. Whenever Sasanka is mentioned by the pilgrim, it is always in association with Magadha or Karnasuvarna and not with Orissa or Ganjam. We have already seen that Sasanka's conquests of Orissa and Ganjam happened before he faced Rajyavardhana, and therefore it is hardly correct to hold that "being forced to abandon his scheme of expansion in the west, Sasanka found a fresh outlet for his military energy in the east-conquest of Orissa"(1). The Ganjam copper-plates of Sasanakara dated in 619—20 A.D. are so worded that it appears that up to that date Sasanka was in the fullness of his glory (2) and could not have undergone the humiliation of a severe defeat. In the Midnapur plates of his time he is referred to in glowing terms. (3) These plates are dated, and we have read the dates as 13 and 8 in the regnal years of Sasanka, (4) though Majumdar reads 19 and 8 on them. Whatever be the correct reading, it is clear that up to the 19th or 13th years of his reign, Sasanka was master of the Dandabhukti and Utkala regions. The fact that in the Midnapur as well as in the Ganjam plates Sasanka is referred to as the overlord by his feudatories may suggest that he was ruling over these regions from his centre in Karnasuvarna. Thus it is clear that up to 620 A.D. at least Sasanka was enjoying the fruits of his sovereignty. In view of these overwhelming facts it is not possible to agree with Barua that Sasanka was driven out to Bengal and his empire was divided between Harsa and Bhaskaravarman before 610 A.D., which he considers to be the date of the Nidhanpur plates. (5) Much reliance cannot be placed on the statement of Yuan Chawng that Harsa "went from east to west subduing all that were

(1) Sen, *op. cit.* 272.

(2) E.I. VI. pp. 143 ff. Sasanka is referred to as 'the Maharajadhiraja Sasanka ruling over the earth surrounded by the girdle of the waters of the four oceans together with islands, mountains and cities'.

(3) JASBL. XI. pp. 1 f.

(4) See *supra*.

(5) JARS. I. pp. 97 ff.

not obedient", and that "after six years he had subdued the five Indias,, and 'after thirty years his arms reposed and he governed everywhere in peace". (1) The passage is evidently confused. In the Life we are told of Harsa's campaign in Ganjam in about 6-42-43 A.D. (2) His war with Pulakesin also happened long after 610 or even 615 A.D. (3) Therefore it has been rightly pointed out that "the account of Yuan Chawang about Harsa should be accepted with caution". The Chinese pilgrim visited Magadha in 637 for the first time, and he speaks of the vandalism of Sasanka in Magadha 'in recent times'(4) or 'lately', in 'late times'(5) This also tends to confirm our point that Sasanka's rule over Magadha was quite fresh and his rule could not have ended far away from 637 A.D.

The only other point in this connection that remains to be examined is the account in the Manju-Sri-Mula-Kalpa which refers to a defeat of Sasanka by Harsa. Before we discuss the relevant passage of the work it is important to understand its nature. It is a Buddhist work of a purely sectarian kind. Only one chapter purports to give an account of important events and personalities in a prophetic manner, as do the Hindu Puranas. The names of the kings are mentioned by initials which often cause a serious headache in their identification with known personages of History. Very often chronology and sequence of events, and persons are inextricably confused. The whole thing is done more to confuse than clarify facts, and being profoundly coloured with religious and sectarian notions it is often impossible to separate the grain from chaff, facts from fiction. It is not an impartial history, neither is it intended to be so. Therefore even when identification of the persons is possible, the account about them may not be absolutely correct. If they are Buddhists then their account would be exaggerated; and if they are non-Buddhists, they would be maligned and their smallest failures would be described as terrible disasters. The account of Soma, rightly

(1) Records vol. 1. p. 213.

(2) The Life, (Beal) p. 157.

(3) ABORI. XIII. pp. 300 ff.

(4) Watters II pp 92, 115.

(5) Records II pp 91, 118.

identified with Sasanka clearly suffers from all these defects. He is spoken of in vilest of terms and cursed many times. Naturally therefore any account of the mutual relation between the pro-Buddhist Harsa and the anti-Buddhist Sasanka found in this partial sectarian work should be treated with suspicion. It is no doubt true that the book contains in important particulars genuine historical traditions ; but it would be risky to rely on it for details, especially in matters in which the author was obviously interested one way or the other. About the struggle between Sasanka and Harsa the Manju-sri-mula-kalpa appears to give details. It says "Ha (Harsa) will be with a great army.....and decides against Sasanka (soma). The powerful vaisya king with a large army marched against the Eastern country, against the capital Pundra of that characterless man. Adopting the duty of Ksatra with the sense of personal injury and indignation, he, though kind, prone to religion and learned, kills many, become an oppressor of living creatures for the reason of being engaged in the duty of chastisement. He defeated Soma, the pursuer of wicked deeds ; Soma was forbidden to move out of his country (being ordered) to remain therein (henceforth). He returned, having been honoured (?) in that kingdom of the barbarian (Mlecchas). He, an excellent king amongst followers of Artha (Sastra) and Dharma (Sastra)' was successful in his undertaking".(1) Jayasval calls it 'the battle of Pundravardhana'(2) It is certainly significant that while Karnasuvarna was the capital of Sasanka the battle is alleged to have been fought in Pundra (Pundravardhana, identified with Mahasthana in the Bogra district of Northern Bengal).It is called (puram uttamam here (3)and Jayasval translates it as the capital.(4)More probably Pundravardhana had continued to be the capital of the province of Pundravardhana in the time of Sasanka. Realising the danger from the Varman dynasty of Kamarupa, Sasanka may have concentrated at Pundravardhana, which lay on

(1) I.H.I. p. 50.

(2) *ibid.* p. 51.

(3) *ibid.* Text, p. 53. v. 723.

(4) *ibid.* p. 50.

the Karatloya, which was the western boundry of the kingdom of Kamarupa in the time of Yuan Chwang. It is certainly not safe to rely on the evidence of the Manju-sri-mula-kalpa alone for the alleged battle between Harsa and Sasanka. But even when one reads between the lines of the quoted passage it appears that Harsa was not completely successful, as alleged in the work. Sasanka could not be crushed, and was left in possession of his kingdom (svadesa). Harsa had to withdraw. The use of the word 'Mleccha' in connection with Pundra or the country of Sasanka indirectly suggests that, whatever may be claimed for Harsa in the work, really he was not welcomed by the people there and had to return after patching up a truce with Sasanka. Harsa, who had promised to exterminate the Gaudas from the earth, could never willingly have left Sasanka in possession of his kingdom and be satisfied with mere subordination. Therefore even if the verses quoted above contain some element of genuine historical tradition, they only show that Harsa won at best only partial success which is referred to in the *Life*, where we are told that Harsa "was soon able to avenge the injuries received by his brother(1)". But Thomas Watters translates the similar passage in the *Records* differently: "continuing the narrative, the pilgrim goes on to state that as soon as Siladitya become ruler he got together a great army and set out to avenge his brother's murder and to reduce the neighbouring countries to subjection(2)". Here it is obvious that it is not expressly stated, as in the *Life*, that Harsa succeeded in avenging the death of his brother. We are not in a position to explain this vital difference in the accounts of the *Records* and the *Life*. However, we do not feel that there is sufficient authority to hold that Sasanka was thoroughly defeated by Harsa in the early years of his reign. What actually appears to have resulted from Harsa's first campaign against the Gauda king was that Sasanka had to eschew his ambition to become the master of the whole of Northern India. He evacuated Kanauj and the Maukhari territories and had to be content with his own kingdom of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, where he was ruling

(1) The *Life* (Beal) p. 83.

(2) Watters I. p. 343.

before he came into conflict with Rajyavardhana or entered into an aggressive alliance with Devagupta of Malwa. This partial success of Harsa has been exaggerated by partial authors. Smith was instinctively right in observing that "Sasanka escaped with little loss(1)".

IV. *Last Years of Sasanka.*

The rule of Sasanka over Magadha is characterised by the Chinese pilgrim as a period of vandalism against the Buddhist institutions and sacred monuments. Sasanka tried to efface the foot-print of Buddha on the stone in Pataliputra (2); he cut down the Bodhi Tree and destroyed its root "down to the water and burnt what remained"(2). He destroyed the image of Buddha in the vihara east of the Bodhi Tree(3), and as a dire consequence of this irreligious act he perished by a fell disease(4). He is referred to as 'overthrowing and destroying the law of Buddha' (5). We are informed that by "Sasanka's extermination of Buddhism" the magnificent establishment founded by wealthy Brahmana at Kusinagara, suffered much, as "the groups of the Brethren were all broken up"(6). The state of Buddhism had become so low that the most important factor which weighed with Avalokitesvara to advise Harsa to accept the throne was to "raise Buddhism from the ruin into which it had been brought by the king of Karnasuvarna"(7). The author of the Manju-sri-mula-kalpa says : "Soma (Sasanka) enamoured by the words of the Tirthakas, will burn that great bridge of religion (dharma), as 'propesied by former jinas (Buddha).....and fell down all the monasteries, gardens and chaityas.....and he will die of a disease in his mouth" (8). That Sasanka was not a Buddhist is clear from his coins, on which we find the bull, the moon and Siva(9). This is confirmed by the

- (1) EHI. (3rd Edn) p. 339.
- (2) Watters II. p. 92.
- (3) *ibid*, pp. 114-5.
- (4) Records (Beal) 11, pp. 121-22.
- (5) *ibid*.
- (6) *ibid*, p. 91.
- (7) Watters. I. p. 343
- (8) I.H.I. pp. 49-50.
- (9) CCGDBM pp 857-8, Pl. XXIII. 14.

account of Yuan Chwang, where we are told that Sasanka wanted to remove the image of Buddha and replace it by that of Siva in the temple east of the Bodhi Tree(1).

But we have no other authority except the prejudiced pilgrim and the Manju-Sri-Mula-Kalpa to confirm Sasanka's acts of vandalism against Buddhism. Of course there must have been an element of truth in the account of Yuan Chwang, who could not invent only 'lies about a king who had passed away almost immediately before him. Moreover the excavations in Nalanda clearly show that the famous monastery suffered destruction many times in its long chequered history. It is quite possible that after the Hunas, Sasanka also attacked the famous Buddhist seat of learning(2). Allan has rightly concluded, "It is certain, then, that Sasanka was a persecutor of Buddhism, although the Chinese pilgrim may credit him with more than he deserves"(3). But it is fair to bear in mind that, while the pilgrim refers to Sasanka's persecution of Buddhism in Magadha, he does not allude to a single instance of such acts of fanaticism in Karnasuvarna, the capital of Sasanka. Yuan Chwang observes that in Karnasuvarna, there were ten Buddhist monasteries and above 2000 Brethren who were all adherents of the Sammatiya school, and he also mentions the magnificent Raktamrita monastery besides the capital(4). This fact makes it difficult to explain Sasanka's persecution of Buddhism in Magadha, when he appears to have followed the traditional Ancient Indian policy of religious toleration in the home-provinces. It may be suggested that the reasons for the persecution of Buddhists in Magadha may have been more political than religious. Magadha was the centre of Buddhism from the very beginning. There were numerous Buddhist monasteries and seats of learning, and it is quite reasonable to assume that the Buddhists, probably the most fully organised sect in India, must have exercised some force in the history of the country. The later imperial Guptas patronised the Buddhist monasteries. The Maukharis were

(1) Watters II. p. 116.

(2) ASIAR. 1924-25. p. 136; JBBRAS. N.S. I-II. p. 216.

(3) CCGDBM. p. LXIII.

(4) Watters. II. pp. 191-92.

also patrons of these monasteries and their seals have been found at Nalanda. Grahavarman, who was the victim of the Devagupta-Sasanka conspiracy, had an inclination towards Buddhism, and his great friend was Divakaramitra(1). Rajyasri was a follower of Buddhism(2), and Rajyavardhana was also a devotee of Buddha(3). Harsa also had eclectic views on religion, and appears to have been attracted towards Buddhism from the very beginning. It was probably the expulsion of the pro-Buddhist Maukharis from Magadha by the more orthodox Gaudas which made the latter unpopular with the powerful Buddhists of Magadha. The murder of the pro-Buddhist Gravarman and the Buddhist Rajyavardhana must have made still worse the relations between the Gauda rulers and the Buddhists of Magadha. A deadly struggle between the king of Gauda and Harsa was imminent ; and Sasanka may have suspected some disloyalty on the part of the Buddhist of Magadha. In this connection it is of some significance to note that, according to the Chinese pilgrim, only a few months after the uprooting of the Bodhi Tree by Sasanka, Purnavarman restored the tree to life. In view of lack of positive facts, it may be speculated that Purnavarman, probably a scion of the Maukhari family, was the leader of the Buddhist discontent and a rival to Sasanka. The latter, therefore, for pure security reasons decided to attack the powerful Buddhist community. The uprooting of the Bodhi Tree may have been an economic move against the Buddhist hierarchy of Magadha, as presents from all over the Buddhist world were offered at the Bodhi Tree. It is quite understandable that a foreign religious scholar like Yuan Chwang would notice in these acts of Sasanka a deliberate policy to overthrow and destroy the Buddhist religion. Later on Buddhist writers consciously or unconsciously interpreted the actions of Sasanka as guided purely by religious fanaticism. Such misunderstanding and exaggeration of only

(1) HC. CT) p. 233.

(2) *ibid*, p. 254.

(3) E. I. I. p. 73-74 parama Sangatah Rajyavardhana.

one of the various motives of conquerors is not unknown in Indian history. Mahmud of Ghazni has suffered from the same misunderstanding, and modern research has shown that his breaking of Hindu temples and images were inspired more by greed and lust than by religious fervour.

It is not definitely known when exactly Sasanka died. But it appears certain that he was holding Magadha till his death. Yuan Chwang observes, "In recent times Sasanka the enemy and oppressor of Buddhism, cut down the Bodhi Tree..... A few months afterwards Purnavarman, the last descendant of Asoka on the throne of Magadha, by pious efforts brought the tree back to life"(1). This certainly proves that Sasanka was immediately followed by Purnavarman in Magadha. The pilgrim further observes that Sasanka ordered the destruction of the Buddha's image in the vihara east of the Bodhi Tree, and as soon as he heard of the destruction of the image he "was seized with terror : his body produced sores and his flesh rotted off and after a short while he died"(2). This confirms our stand that at the time of his death Sasanka was the sovereign of Magadha. The destruction of the image could only be simultaneous with the uprooting of the Bodhi Tree, which was followed by the coming into power of Purnavarman only after a few months of this act of vandalism. Yuan Chwang visited Magadha in 637 A.D., for the first time, and describes Sasanka as having destroyed the Bodhi Tree "in recent times"(3). He visited Karnasuvarna in April 639 A.D.(4). and does not mention the reigning king. This certainly proves that Sasanka was dead before 637 A.D. He died of a natural disease. This is clear from the account of the pilgrim (5) & Manju-Sri-Mula-Kalpa(6). According to the latter authority Sasanka ruled for 17 years 1 month and 7 or 8 days(7). This may not be precisely accurate, but is not far from the actuality. Sasanka came to the throne in the

(1) Watters II. p. 115.

(2) Records (Beal) II, p. 122.

(3) Watters II. p. 115.

(4) CAGI (S.N. Majumdar edn. p. 647).

(5) Records (Beal) II. p. 122.

(6) I.H.I. p. 50.

(7) *ibid.*

early years of the 7th century after Christ, and his rule may have come to an end by 625 A.D.

After the death of Sasanka in cir. 625 A.D., the Gauda empire, built up largely by the genius of Sasanka, collapsed like a house of cards. The Manju-Sri-Mula-Kalpa gives a description of the Gauda-system at the death of Sasanka. It says "After the death of Soma (sasanka) the Gauda polirtical system (Gauda-tantra) was reduced to mutual distrust, raised weapons and mutual jealousy-one (king) for a week ; another for the month ; then a republican constitution—such will be the daily (condition) of the country on this bank of the Ganges where houses were built of the ruins of the monasteries. Thereafter Soma's son Manava will last for 8 months"(1). This may probably reflect a true picture of Gauda after the exit of Sasanka from the stage. In this state of political and constitutional instability in the centre of the empire, the distant provinces could not be expected to adhere to the aprons of Gauda. Magadha became independent under Purnavarman, a few months after the death of Sasanka. The Sailodbhavas of Ganjam declared their independence. While in the Ganjam plates of Madhavaraja II Sasanka is mentioned as overlord , in the Khurda plates of the same ruler, Madhavaraja II, there is no mention of any overlord, and Madhavarrja is referred to as 'master of all Kalinga', and the grant is issued from the victorious camp of Kongoda. Bengal passed into the control of Harsa and Orissa also appears to have ultimately fallen into his hands, as is clear from the accounts of Yuan Chwang. Thus the first Bengal empire in Indian History perished with the death of the first great great hero of Bengal.

(1) I.H.I., pp. 50-51.

Devanagari rendering of words written in Roman Script.

| Roman | Devanagari | Roman | Devanagari |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| A | | | |
| Abhiseka | अभिषेक | Bihar | बिहार |
| arthasastra | अर्थशास्त्र | Bodhi | बोधि |
| arunga Mitra | अरुङ्ग मित्र | Buddha | बुद्ध |
| „ „ Swamin | अरुङ्ग मित्र स्वामिन् | Buddharaja | बुद्धराज |
| „ „ | अरुङ्ग स्वामिन् | Budhagupta | बुध गुप्त |
| Aryamanju-Srimula kalpa | आर्य मंजु श्री मूल कल्प | Brahmana | ब्राह्मण |
| avalokitesvar | अवलोकितेश्वर | C | |
| B | | Calukya | चालुक्य |
| Buddharaja | बुद्धराज | Candra Gupta | चन्द्रगुप्त |
| Bana | बाण | Cicacol | चिकाकोल |
| Banskhera | बंस खेरा | D | |
| Bhadra | भाद्र | Danda bhukti | दण्ड भुक्ति |
| Bhanu | भानु | Deva Gupta | देवगुप्त |
| Bhaundatta | भानुदत्त | Devendra Varman | देवेन्द्र वर्मन् |
| Bharatiya-pracina- | भारतीय प्राचीन | Dharmaditya | धर्मादित्य |
| lipi-mala | लिपि-माला | Dharma-sastra | धर्मशास्त्र |
| Bhaskara-Varmana | भास्कर वर्मन् | Dhruvamitra-swamin | ध्रुवमित्र-स्वामिन् |
| Bhattasali | भट्टशाली | Dhruvamitra-Varman | ध्रुवमित्र वर्मन् |

Devanagari rendering of words written in Roman Script.

| Roman | Devanagari | Roman | Devanagari |
|---------------------|-------------------|----------------|--------------|
| Divakara Mitra | दिवाकर मित्र | Hiranyapurvata | हिरण्य पर्वत |
| Dustagauda bhujanga | दुष्ट गौड भुजंग | I | |
| G. | | Indravarnan | ईंद्र वर्मन |
| Gunga anantavarman | गंग अनन्त वर्मन् | J | |
| Garudadhvaga | गरुडध्वज | Jaya | जय |
| Gauda | गौड | ,, Na ga | ,, नाग |
| ,, Bala | | ,, Skanda | ,, स्कन्द |
| ,, Dhama | | Jirajinji | जिरजिजि |
| ,, Raja | गौडवल गौडाधम | K | |
| ,, Tantra | गौडराज—गौडधिय | Kalacuri | काला चूरी |
| Gaya | गौड तंत्र | Kamarupa | कामरूप |
| Gopacandra | गया | ,, Sasana vali | ,, शासनावली |
| Grahavarman | गोपचन्द्र | Karnasuvarna | कर्णसुवर्ण |
| Gupta | ग्रह वर्मन् गुप्त | Karnavarman | कर्ण वर्मन् |
| H | | Kautilya | कौटिल्य |
| Haraha | हराहा | Kongada | कोंगद |
| Harsa | हर्ष | Krisnaraja | कृष्ण राज |
| ,, carita | हर्ष चरित | Kumaragupta | कुमार गुप्त |
| ,, Vardahna | हर्ष वर्धन | | |

[illegible]

Devanagari rendering of words written in Roman Script.

| Roman | Devanagari | Roman | Devanagari |
|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| P | | | |
| Parama Bhattaraka | परमभट्टारक | Saiva | शैव |
| Parama Bhattaraka | देवताविदेव | Samacaradeva | समाचारदेव |
| Dewatadhideva | वाटलिपुत्र | Samanta | समन्त |
| Pataliputra | पतिश्रा वेल्ल | Sambhuyasas | शंसुयशस् |
| Patia Kella | प्रमाकर वर्धन | Sahmatiya | सहमतीय |
| Prabhakaravardhana | प्रकाशादित्य | Sarephahara | सरेफहर विषय |
| Prakasadiya | प्रयमित्रवर्मन् | Visaya | सर्व वर्मन् |
| Priyamitravarman | पुलकेशिन् | Sarvavarman | शशाङ्क |
| Pulakesin | पुण्ड्र वर्धन | Sasanka | शिलादित्य |
| Pundravardhana | पूर्णयवर्मा | Siladitya | शिव |
| Purnavarman | पुष्पमूर्ति | Siva | " राज |
| Pusyabhuti | राजलीला | " Raja | " स्कन्द |
| R | | | |
| Rajalila | राज्यश्री | " Skanda | " वर्मन् |
| Rajyasri | राज्य वर्धन | " Varman | सोमदत्त |
| Rajyavardhana | रक्तमृत | Somadatta | सो रो |
| Raktamirta | रोहितासगढ | Soro | श्री प्रकाण्डयशस् |
| Rohatasgarh | | Sri Prakanda Yasas | श्री श |
| | | Sri Sa | शूलक |
| | | Sulika | |

| | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Supratisthita varman | सुप्रतिष्ठित वर्मन् | Vapaghosa Vata | वप घोष वात |
| „ Kataka | ” कटक | Vappa Padaundhyata | वप्प पादाण्ड्यात |
| Susthita varman | सुस्थित वर्मन् | Vardhana | वर्धन |
| Svadesa | स्वदेश | Varman | वर्मन् |
| Svalpa Vetura | स्वल्प वेतूर | Vatamitra | वटमित्र स्वामिन् |
| T | | Svamin | विदिशा |
| Tamralippi | ताम्रलिपि | Vidisa | विद्याविनोद |
| Thanesvara | थानेरवर | Vidyavinoda | विष्णु |
| U | | Visnu | |
| Utkala | उत्कल | ” Gupta | ” गुप्त चन्द्रादित्य |
| Uttaratosali | उत्तर तोषली | Chandraditya | युवराज |
| V | | juvaraja | |
| Vaidya | वैद्य | | |

**SOME NEW LIGHT ON THE GAHADAVALAS OF
KANAUJ: THE KASIRAJA OF THE
PRAKRTAPAINGALAM AND HIS CHIEF
MINISTER VIDYADHARA**

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The *Prakrtapaingalam* (प्राकृतपैंगलम्), a work on Prakṛta (प्राकृत) prosody composed probably in the fourteenth century, quotes five verses by some writer extolling a ruler of Kasi (काशी) styled variously as Kasiraja (काशीराज) Kasisa (काशीश) and Kasisvara, (काशीश्वर). In the first of these the fame of the Kasisa (काशीश) is said to have triumphed over everything white, the moon, the jasmine flower, the kasa (कास) shoots, pearl necklaces, Siva (शिव) and Kailasa (कैलाश)'. Another verse, though a little less conventional, is almost equally useless in giving us the identity of this ruler of Kasi (काशी). According to it the rulers defeated by the Kasisa (काशीश) fled in all directions, leaving behind their wives, homes, elephants and horses. Their tears filled lakes. Rolling on the ground, they beat their bodies in agony, while their family fell at the conquerors's feet. Then plucking courage they got up, put their fingers between their teeth (as a token of sub-mission), and made their children bow down to the Kasisvara (काशीश्वर) who, then, taking pity on the rulers' plight favoured them by the restoration of their principalities.²

1. चंदा कुंदा कासा, हारा हीरा तिलो अणा के लासा ।
जैता जैता सेता, तेता कासीस जिणिआ ते कित्ती ॥

(p. 137, verse 77)

2. राअह भग्गंता दिग लग्गंता, परिहरि हअ गअ घर धरिणी
लोअहि भरु सरवस पअ परु परिकरु, लोट्टइ पिट्टइ पणु धरणी
पुणु उट्टइ संभलि कर दंतंगुलि, बाल तणअ कर जमल करे
कासीसर राआ णेहलु काआ, कर काआ पुणु थप्पि घरे ॥

(p. 289, verse 180)

Details about the rulers defeated are supplied by the other verses. One of these advises the ruler of Gauda (गौड़) to go back with his tired elephants and infantry divisions, for no people, however heroic, infantry or even elephants could withstand the shower of arrows from Kasisa's (काशीशस्य) bow.³ From another verse we learn that during his raids the Kasiraja (काशीराज) defeated the people of Nepal (नेपाल); made the Bhotas (भोट) move off, beating their breasts; vanquished the Chinas (चीनः), depriving them of their pride; compelled the Lohabalas (लोहाबलाः) to take to their heels; gained fame by conquering Odra (ओड़); destroyed the army of the ruler of Malwa (मालवा) and so mauled the Tailanga (तैलङ्ग) forces that they had not the courage to turn back.⁴

But in the above two verses also we are left in the dark about the identity of the Kasisa (काशीश). The only verse that can by itself be useful in this direction is the one we shall now refer to. It may be translated into English as follows :—

“When the ruler, the lord of Kasi (काशी), went forth on his expeditions of conquest”, says the excellent minister Vidyadhara (विद्याधर), “the Bangas (बङ्गाः) were frightened into submission, the Kalingas (कलिङ्गाः) were vanquished, the Tailangas (तैलङ्गाः) fled from the field in fear, the redoubtable Marathas (मराठाः) ran away on all sides, the Saurashtras (सौराष्ट्राः) fled out of fear, the people of Champaranya (चम्पारण्य) trembled, tried to escape to the hills, and getting up and falling back again and again gave up

3. रे गोड यक्कंति ते हत्थि जूहाइ पल्लट्टि जुज्झंतु पाइक्क बूहाइ ।
कासीस राजा सरासार अग्गेण की हत्थि की पत्ति की वीर वग्गेण ॥

(p. 450, verse 132)

4. जे किज्जिअ धाला जिणु णिवाला, भोट्टा पिट्ठंत चले भंजाविअ चीणा
दप्पहि हीणा, लोहाबल हाकंद पले । ओड्डा उड्डाविअ कित्ती पाविअ,
मोलिअमालवराज वले तेलंगा भग्गिअ पुणवि ण लग्गिअ कासीराजा जस्सण चले ॥

(p. 318, verse 198)

the ghost.”⁵

The name of Kasiraja (काशीराज) is not to be found in this verse too ; but an excellent clue is provided by the name of its author, the *mantrin* Vidyadhara (मन्त्री विद्याधर) who in all likelihood, is none other than Jayachandra Gahadavala's chief minister bearing this name.⁶ It being natural for him to eulogise his master, the Kasiraja (काशीराज) of the *Prakrtapaingalam* (प्राकृतपैङ्गलम्) can with some certainty be identified with Jayachandra (जयचन्द्र) of Kasi (काशी).⁷

The conflict between the ruler of Gauda (गौड) and Kasiraja (काशीराज) referred to in verse quoted above, is an actual fact vouched for by various records. The Bakerganj inscription of Kesavasena and Madhainagar Grant give Lakshmanasena credit for having erected pillars of victory at Benares and Allahabad, both of them included at the time in Jayachandra's dominions.⁸ Umapatidhara speaks of the defeat of Kasiraja, who, as Umapatidhara's contemporary, could only be Jayachandra Gahadavala, the ruler of Kasi.⁹ And similarly the *Prabandhakosa* (प्रबन्धकोश), a Jaina chronicle coming from the other end of India, though presenting a somewhat different picture, refers to the same conflict between the two rivals, Lakshmansena and Jayachandra. According to this source, Jayachandra invested Lakshmanavati (लक्ष्मणावती), the capital of Lakshmanasena of Gauda, for eighteen days, and turned back

5. भञ भञिअ वंगा भङ्गु कलिगा, तेलंगा रण मुक्कि चले मरहट्ठा धिट्ठा लागिअ
कट्ठा सोरट्ठा भञ पाअ पले । चंपारण पव्वअ झपा ओत्था ओत्थी जीव हरे
कासीसर राणा कि अउ पआणा विज्जहर भण मंतिवरे (p. 244, verse. 145.)

6. (a) अत्रान्तरे वाराणस्यां जयन्तचन्द्रो राजा । तस्य विद्याधरो मन्त्री
(Prabandha Kosa, p. 83)

(b) अथ कासिनगर्यां जयचन्द्र इति नृपः नृपतिना तस्य (विद्याधरस्य) निरवधि-
चातुर्थं पर्यालोच्य सर्वाधिकारभारे धुरन्धरो व्यधायि (Prabandhachintamani p. 113)

(c) कान्यकुब्जदेशे वाराणसी पुरी तत्र विजयचंद्रागजो जयचन्द्रो राज्यं करोति । तेन
विद्याधरा आहूताः स (विद्याधरः) राजकुलेगतः । सर्वमुद्राधिकारी कृतश्च
(Puratana prabandhasangraha, 88)

7. Not only the Jaina prabandhas noted above in footnote 6, but also Muslim historians describe Jayachandra as a ruler of Kasi.

8. JASB, N. S., X, pp. 97—104 and N. S., V, pp. 473, 476.

9. IBID. N. S., 11, p. 161.

to Kasi only on being assured by his minister Vidyadhara, that he had, in secret, received 18 lacs of gold coins as tribute from the enemy. Later on, when Jayachandra learnt that Vidyadhara had agreed to raise the siege not on receiving any money but merely a supplicatory verse from Lakshmanasena's minister Kumaradasa, he approved Vidyadhara's chivalrous conduct, and as a token of his own royal favour, had 18 and 8 lacs respectively of gold coins sent to the Gauda ruler and his minister¹⁰.

There may be some truth in the *Prabandhakosa* (प्रबन्धकोश) version ; but the verse from the *Prakrtapaingalam* (प्राकृतपैङ्गलम्) rather corroborates the evidence of the Sena records. It advises, as pointed out above, the ruler of Gauda to turn back with his fatigued infantry, cavalry and elephants, for none could withstand the mighty Kasi-*raja* (काशीराज); and such an advice could be regarded as sensible only if the Gauda (गौड) army had actually tired itself out as a result of its long march from Bengal into the interior of the kingdom of Kasi (काशी). The Sena (सेन) attack may have been no more than a daring raid. It was probably beaten back too. But before this could be done, the Gahadavala (गहड़वाल) dominions had to pass through a period of some stress. Even the story of the *Prabandhakosa* (प्रबन्धकोश), though partial to Vidyadhara (विद्याधर) and his master, leaves the reader ultimately with the impression that the Gahadavalas (गहड़वालाः) had to save themselves by buying off the invaders¹¹.

The details supplied by verse 4 of the *Prakrtapaingalam* (प्राकृतपैङ्गलम्) do not at first sight look credible. It is not easy to conceive of a ruler, not of India, but Kanauj alone as defeating the Chinas (चीनाः), Bhotas (भोटाः) and Nepalīs (नेपालाः); there is nothing unlikely of course in his vanquishing the Malavas (मालवाः) and Odras (ओड्राः). But curiously enough Vidyadhara's (विद्याधरस्य) statement gets, in some measures, the backing of quite an impartial source, the Kamil-ut-Tawarikh (कामिउत्तवारीख), which states that

10. pp. 88.—90. (Singhi Jaina Granthamala)

11. According to the *Prabandhakosa* the Sena ruler actually regarded the 18 lacs of gold coins sent to him by Jayachandra as an indemnity paid by the Gahadavalas

"the king of Benares was the greatest king of India, and possessed the largest territory, extending lengthwise from the borders of China to the province of Malwa (मालवा) and in breadth from the sea to within ten days' journey to Lahore."¹² If this description be true, there is nothing improbable about Jayachandra's (जयचन्द्रस्य) conflicts with the peoples mentioned in the verse, though success may not have invariably attended his ventures.

As to further particulars about Vidyadhara (विद्याधर), the author of the verses dealing with Kasiraja (काशीराज) these can be had from at least three Jaina *Prabandhas* (जैनप्रबन्धः), the *Prabandhachintamani* (प्रबन्धचिन्तामणि), in the *Prabandhakosa* (प्रबन्धकोश) and the *Puratanaprabandhasangraha* (पुरातनप्रबन्धसंग्रह)¹³. His appointment as minister was due to the influence of Jayachandra's (जयचन्द्रस्य) favourite queen, Sudhava (सुधवा), whose rise to royal position he is said to have predicted. By all accounts Vidyadhara (विद्याधर) was a brilliant scholar and gifted administrator, fully fitted for his high post. His only vice, if any, was the extreme generosity. That he was a statesman also of the highest order can be seen from the account of his resignation preserved in the *Jayachandraprabandha* (जयचन्द्रप्रबन्ध),¹⁴. Unlike Prthviraja's (पृथ्वीराजस्य) chief minister, Kadambavasa (कदम्बावस) who was glad to see a rival ruler, Bhimadeva II (भीमदेव) of Gujarat, attacked by Muhammad Ghori (मुहम्मद गोरी), Vidyadhara (विद्याधर) was stricken with grief on the death of his master's staunchest opponent, Prthviraja III (पृथ्वीराज). Jayachandra (जयचन्द्र) had ordered illuminations on hearing of the event. Vidyadhara deprecated this lack of foresight, for what had happened to Prthviraja (पृथ्वीराज) might the next day happen to Jayachandra (जयचन्द्र) himself. Prthviraja (पृथ्वीराज) had been, as it were, an iron doorbolt barring the entrance to Madhyadesa (मध्यदेश), his fall should, therefore, have occasioned mourning instead of joy and festivity. Vidyadhara's (विद्याधरस्य) advice, however, fell on deaf ears. When soon after, Vidyadhara (विद्याधर) foreseeing the danger

12. ED, II, p. 251.

13. For reference to pages see foot-note, 6.

14. Parat anaprabandhasangrāta, pp. 88—90.

from the Muslims, began a rally of the state forces and wished to be given a free hand regarding expenditure for a period of two years, Jayachandra strongly disagreed with him, with the result that Vidyadhara laid down the reins of his office and went away on a pilgrimage. He was not eager to retain the post, if he could no longer serve his master's real interests. For money itself he cared little. He probably never witnessed the sad sight of his country being devastated by Muslims. Our sources appear to indicate that he died sometime before Jayachandra's (जयचन्द्रस्य) death in the battle of Chandawar. India of the twelfth century needed not only one but many Vidyadharas (विद्याधर), ministers who could see things from a national point of view and advise their masters to combine against a common enemy. Is it not a matter of regret that Jayachandra (जयचन्द्र), in his mistaken folly, did not utilise the statesmanship of even one Vidyadhara he had ?

We know also of one more Vidyadhara mantrin. He is mentioned in the Seth Maheth inscription of V. 118. But being connected, not with any ruler of Kasi (काशी) but a minor chief named Madana (मदन) he cannot be the Vidyadhara (विद्याधर) of our verse.

A NOTE ON THE WORD NAVAKOTI (नवकोटि) IN THE
TITLE NAVAKOTI KARNATA KALAVARAGESVARA
(नवकोटि कर्नाट कलवरगेश्वर)

Dr. R. Subrahmanyam M.A., Ph. D.

This title 'Navakoti Karnata Kalavaragesvara' appears for the first time in the Velagalani plates dated Saka 1380 (A.D. 1458)¹ of Kapilendradeva (कपिलेन्द्रदेव) of Orissa. The exact significance of the word 'Navakoti (नवकोटि)' in the title was not fully explained by previous writers. Messrs. Manmohan Chakravarti and R. D. Banerji, pioneer writers on the history of Orissa understood it as 'ruler over ninety millions of Karnata and Kulbarga'.² Mr. G. Ramadas in his recent article³ on the Suryavamsi (सूर्यवंशः) kings of Orissa suggested a new interpretation. According to him the title under reference conveyed the meaning that 'Kapilendra (कपिलेन्द्र) was ruler of the countries Navakoti (नवकोटि), Karnata (कर्नाट) and Kulbarga'. In support of that surmise he cited the evidence of one of the *slokas* (श्लोकः) in the Gopinathpur (गोपीनाथपुर) Inscription of Kapilendra (कपिलेन्द्र)⁴ which begins with "Srikhandadripayodhar-opari

1. M. E. R. A17 of 1935 : Taking advantage of the weakness of Bhanudeva, मानुदेव last of the Ganga (गंग) rulers of Kalinga, Kapilendra (कपिलेन्द्र) one of his ministers usurped the throne and started a dynasty of his own in 1434-35 A. D. After securing his position on the throne, he embarked on a campaign of conquest. He deprived the Reddis of Rajahmundry of all their territories, came into conflict with the Rayas (रायाः) of Vijayanagara and Sultans of Gulbarga. By 1458-59 he brought under his control the whole region as far south as river Krishna and appointed his trusted servant Ganadeva (गणदेवः) as Viceroy of his southern dominions (I. A. Vol. XX p. 300 & M. E. R. 70 of 1917). Subsequently he defeated the Bahmani forces at Devarakonda in the Telangana (तेलंगाना) district of modern Hyderabad State, and assumed his high sounding title.
2. J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIX I No 2, 1900 p. 177 ff.
3. J. B. R. S. Vol. XXXI P. III p. 176
4. J. A. S. B. Vol. LXIX I No. 2, 1900 page 14.

Karam nirmaya" (श्रीखण्डाद्रिपयोधरोपरि करं निर्माय) and identified Navakoti (नवकोटि) of the title with Srikhandadri (श्रीखण्डाद्रि) of the above inscription. In a footnote he further explained his identification as follows:— 'M. M. Chakravarti understood the meaning of the quotation as 'levied taxes over the Khanda (खण्ड) hill' but did not give a thought to identify it. 'Khanda' (खण्ड) means Nine' (Sanskrit Dictionary, Sarvasabda-Sambodhini Madras 1875). Srikhandadri (श्रीखण्डाद्रि) means the 'wealthy region of the nine forts', the same as 'Navakoti' (नवकोटि) Navanam Kotanam samaharah Navakotam Nvakotam Yasmin tat—Navakoti' (नवानां कोटानां समाहारः नवकोटम् नवकाटं यस्मिन् तत्-नवकोटः), 'Navakoti Karnata Kalavaragesvara' (नवकोटि कर्णाट कलवरगेश्वर) is found in every colophon at the end of every Uchhvasa (उच्छ्वास) of Sarasvativilasa (सरस्वती विलास) Srikhandadri (श्रीखण्डाद्रि) for Navakoti (नवकोटि) and Kanchipura (काञ्चीपुर) for Karnata (कर्नाट) are synonyms used for metrical purposes". Then he gave the names of the nine forts indicated by the epithet as Bellamkonda (बेल्लम्कोण्ड), Vinukonda (विनुकोण्ड), Kondavidu (कोण्डविडु), Nagarjunakonda (नागार्जुनकोण्ड), Rajahmundry (राजमन्ड्री), Peddapuram (पेदापुरम्) Kaluvalapalli (कलुवलपल्ली), Vaddadi (वद्दादि) and Potnuru (पोत्नूरु) and concluded that "Navakoti (नवकोटि) or Srikhandadri (श्रीखण्डाद्रि) are expressions to indicate the whole region from Simhachalam (सिंहाचलम्) in the north to Nellore in the south".

This explanation given by Mr. Ramadas is not very convincing, specially when he wants us to take the meaning of the word "Navakoti" (नवकोटि) as the name of the country lying between Simhachalam and Nellore. This region before its conquest by the Gajapatis was under the authority of the Reddi rulers of Rajahmundry (राजमन्ड्री) and Kondavidu (कोण्डविडु). Neither the inscriptions of the Reddis nor the literature of the period give us the necessary evidence to accept the conclusion of Mr. Ramadas. Again his identification of Navakoti (नवकोटि) with Srikhandadri (श्रीखण्डाद्रि) also looks erroneous, for he gave numerical values to the word Khanda (खण्ड) in Srikhandadri (श्रीखण्डाद्रि)

and rushed to the conclusion that "Srikhandadri (श्रीखण्डाद्रि) means the wealthy region of nine forts" same as Navakoti (नवकोटि). Using his own arguments, if we give numerical values to the word 'Srikhandadri' (श्रीखण्डाद्रि) we get Khanda 9 and Adri (अद्रि)—7 or 79 (*Ankanam namato gatih*) (अङ्कनां नामतो गतिः) which is meaningless in the context.⁵ The word was not at all used in that sense.

Adri (अद्रि) means only a 'hill' but he understood it as a fort; granting that *Adri* (अद्रि) meant a hill fort all the forts enumerated by him were not hill forts, certainly Rajahmundry (राजमन्दी) and Peddapuram (पेदापुरम्) were not *giri-durgas* (गिरिदुर्गाः) but were *sthala-durgas* (स्थलदुर्गाः).

The 'region from Simhachalam (सिंहाचलम्) in the north to Nellore in the south' which he equates with the term 'Navakoti (नवकोटि) or Srikhandadri (श्रीखण्डाद्रि)' includes several important forts as Udayagiri (उदयगिरि), Kandukuru (कन्दुकुरु), Addanki (अदंकी), Ketavaram (केतवरम्), Kondapalli (कोण्डपल्ली) etc. and Mr. Ramadas's list is not at all exhaustive.

In South India it was customary to affix numerical figures to the names of districts, provinces or countries.⁶ Several inscriptions from the Canarese country mention districts along with numerical appellations, but in the Telugu country the Telugu Academy plates⁶ of Visnukundi Madhavavarman विष्णुकुण्डि माधव वर्मन् dated in the sixth or early seventh century was perhaps the earliest to use such appellation. In that inscription a reference is made to 'one thousand country' which Sri Somasekhara Sarma has identified with Vengi (वेंगी). That the numerical figure refers to the number of *gramas* (ग्रामाः) is made evident by the records of Rajaraja II (राजराज) and of a Mandalika (माण्डलिक). The inscription of Rajaraja (राजराज) records that he gave 12 villages to his friend "in respect of the 1,000 villages comprising

5. Velanadu (वेलनाडु) was once a 6000 country-M. E. R. 671 of 1920. Renadu (रेनाडु) 17000 country M. E. R. 466 of 1906. Mulkinadu (मुल्किनाडु) a 4000 country-J. of Tel. Academy Vol. X p. 193. Giripratici (गिरिप्रतीची) or Kondapadamatidesa (कोण्डपदमतीतिदेश) was 73 gramas-Epi. Ind. Vol. VI, p. 268 ff (Trisaptatigramavatim—Giripraticim) (त्रिसप्ततिग्रामावर्ती.....प्रतीचीम्).

6. Journal of Oriental Research Vol. XI Pt. III, p. 221 ff.

Vengi-visaya" (वेंगीविषय) 7. Telugu literature also furnishes instances of this kind. Nannicoda (नन्निचोड) the author of Kumarasambhavam (कुमारसंभवम्) a Telugu poet of the 12th century A.D. in the introduction of this work says that he was born to "Codaballi (चोडवल्ली] lord of Pakanadu (पाकनाडु) 21000."

Thus it is clear that the numericals affixed to the names of districts and provinces refer only to *gramas* (ग्रामाः) But it should not be confused with modern village to denote which we invariably use the word 'grama' (ग्राम) . On the other hand the word 'grama' (ग्राम) indicates unit of measurements, though it is hard to conjecture about what it actually represents in terms of measurements in modern days.

Similarly the word 'Navakoti' (नवकोटि) in the title Navakoti Karnata Kalavaragesvara (नवकोटि कर्नाट कलवरगेस्वर) assumed by Kapilendradeva (कपिलेन्द्रदेव) might have been the numerical figure attached to either Karnata (कर्नाट) or Karnata (कर्नाट) and Kulbarga (कुलबर्ग) together, and they must have represented the number of *gramas* (ग्राम) in these countries. *Karnata* (कर्नाट) in the title is a reference to the Vijayanagara (विजयनगर) kingdom and *Kalabarga* (कलवरग) is a variant of *Gulbarga* (गुलबर्ग) the then capital of the Bahmani Sultans.

It may be argued that "Navakoti" (नवकोटि) i.e., 'nine crores' is too huge a figure for a state. But when a province like Nolambavadi (नोलम्बवाडि) could be 32000, the entire Karnata (कर्नाट) Empire might very well be indicated by the larger figure of 'nine crores'.

7. Epi. Report for 1922 p. 98 para 6; similarly another inscription from Daksharama (दाक्षाराम) (S. I. I. Vol. IV No. 1153) refer to 'K. napota' (कोनपोत) who acquired Vengi (वेंगी) one thousand *gramas* (ग्रामाः) from Kulottunga (कुलोत्तुङ्ग चोड).
8. From the Sati luru (सतिलुरु) plates J.A.H.R.S. Vol. V p. 112 ff) of Guna Vijayaditya (गुण विजयादित्य) we obtain the phrase "Dvadasa sahasra pramana Vengi mandalam" (द्वादश सहस्रप्रमाण वेंगी मण्डलम्) The word 'pramana' (प्रमाण) in the above phrase was explicitly used to denote extent.

CALCUTTA-ODUH CORRESPONDENCE RELATING
TO JAHANDAR SHAH, 1788 A.D.

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In Political Consultations, dated 28th April, 1788, preserved under the custody of the National Archives of India, New Delhi, we get some correspondence between the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, and E. O. Ives, Resident at the Wazir's court at Lucknow, which disclose one of the painful chapters in the career of the Imperial Prince Jawan Bakht Mirza Jahandar Shah, eldest son of Emperor Shah Alam II. Owing to the disturbed state of affairs at Delhi he fled from that place in April 1784 and went away to Lucknow. He placed himself under the virtual protection of the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, and tried to secure his help in favour of his distressed father. Hastings persuaded the Nawab Wazir, Asafuddaulah, to allow him a "monthly subsidy of 33,333 rupees". Even if his views failed, Hastings recommended (end of 1784) to the Council in Calcutta to allow him "an asylum at Benares". "He will expend his income", the Governor-General remarked, "among the ryots of the Company. His influence will prove of little injury to the police of Benares, to which he himself has shewn very cautious attention and particular consideration for its Magistrate, and the time may come when his activity, spirit and gratitude, if they do not forsake him, may enable him to make ample returns to the Company for the past kindness bestowed on him in the days of his adversity".

But for certain reasons, there was no love lost between Jahandar Shah and Asafuddaulah, and reconciliation between them seemed to be out of question. The Government of Lord Cornwallis, therefore, acted very cautiously in

- (1) Proceedings, Secret Department, Fort William, 14th December, 1784.

relation to Jahandar Shah. While their Resident at Lucknow, Mr. E. O. Ives, persuaded the Oudh Nawab, though he "seemed to entertain an implacable resentment" against Jahandar Shah, to pay the latter a *peshkash* of 3 lacs of rupees per annum, he left no stone unturned to induce the Imperial Prince to quit the Nawab Wazir's territories mainly on political ground, so that he might be at a "greater distance from the scene of action in the upper Provinces".³

The correspondence, studied here, shows that the Governor-General wanted him to stay at Rajmahal, which, however, was not to his liking. He was destined to die soon (31st May, 1788) while returning from a trip to Chunar.

Mr. E. O. Ives wrote to Lord Cornwallis on the 12th April, 1788 :—"But when the Vizier, after a great deal of persuasion signified his consent to the *Peishskush*,⁴ but proposed only two Lacks of Rupees I then found it necessary to communicate to him your Lordship's opinion that less than 25,000 per month or three lacks per annum was inadequate. Of this the Vizier was brought to approve (the stipend to commence from the month of Cheyte) but in talking to the Minister afterwards in regard to the punctuality of the payments he informed me that the state of his Excellency's finances would by no means allow of his paying anything during the six remaining months of the *Fussellee* year 1195, but that if your Lordship would order it to be advanced from the Company's Treasury to that period it should thenceforward be regularly paid and the arrears due at the beginning of 1196, should be discharged in the course of that year by equal instalments.

Having expressed my apprehensions of your Lordship's not approving of so tedious a mode of reimbursement of the money to be advanced by the Company in 1195 he at length consented to its being wholly paid in the beginning of 1196 and to this I have signified to him my hopes

- (2) The Resident's Letter to the Governor-General, dated 12th April, 1788.
- (3) The Resident's Letter to the Governor-General, dated 16th April, 1788.
- (4) Presents.

that your Lordship may give your assent—I must add however that in the Shookah which the Vizier has written to me on the subject and which I thought it necessary to request as a voucher, he says the money on account of 1195 shall be paid in Augun 1196, 'either in Cash or by Bills', which last is in fact (as the Bills are usually drawn at 91 days after sight) reserving to himself the power of delaying it for upwards of three months longer—I did not chuse to appear too importunate on this subject, but if your Lordship should disapprove of the last mentioned clause, I have no doubt but the Minister will agree to the payment being made in cash only—I should suppose also that he would (should your Lordship think it worthwhile to desire it) consent to the 3 lacks, fixed for the stipend being considered as Calcutta Siccas, they being the Current coin of the country where his Royal Highness is to reside—In the Vizier's Shooka to me, the species of Rupee is not particularized but I conclude that Lucknow Siccas are intended—It is also necessary for me to inform you that in the Shokka the Vizier has written me on the subject, he expresses a wish that your Lordship may in consideration of his great expenses, be brought to think that two lacks, as first proposed by him, are sufficient but as he has in the same Shookas authorized me to communicate to His Royal Highness the Establishment of the three Lacks, I conclude that his Excellency has no expectations of your Lordship's concurrence on that head.

Having obtained the Vizier's consent to the main point, I again venture to touch on the Prince's wish for a reconciliation. But to this I found his Excellency continued exceedingly averse. So far however I succeeded, as to persuade him to send by me an answer to the Shookas he had received from His Royal Highness, together with the customary Nuzzar and having thus prevailed on him to do what was necessary to save appearances, I thought it best to be satisfied—I lost no time therefore to repair to the Prince at Meean Gunge, where I arrived yesterday morning before day light.

His Royal Highness was not at all pleased with Rajmahal for his residence—He said it was a deserted place,

and quite out of the world, and would have preferred Annop-shaher, Furruckabad, or Calcutta, I said everything I could in favour of Rajmahal, but he by no means appeared satisfied. However he repeatedly said that he would comply with your Lordship's wishes, but must have a personal interview in Calcutta, to which proposal he could obtain your consent long before he should get to his journey's end.

He expressed every dislike to undertake so long a journey at this season of the year. Sometimes he proposed staying where he was, at Meean Gunge, sometimes at Furruckabad—and sometimes at Cawnpore, till the Rains were over—This I opposed to the utmost of my power, observing that your Lordship had particularly expressed your wishes for him to make as little delay as possible and that as it was not without very great difficulty the Vizier had been persuaded to consent to what had been already obtained of him. It appeared to me to be by no means proper, nor could I help thinking it would be very disagreeable to your Lordship, to give his Excellency further trouble—He then talked of going down himself but leaving his family behind. This I opposed likewise on nearly the same principles; but took advantage of a proposal he had once half made of remaining in the neighbourhood of Chunar Ghur till after the Rains, to recommend his proceeding with his family without delay towards that place, and to write to Your Lordship on the subject, as he might expect to receive your answer before his arrival there, observing at the same time that as there were certainly less objections to his being in the Company's Territories than in those of the Vizier it was possible your Lordship might, in consideration of his case and convenience, consent to his remaining for some time in the vicinity of Chunar. The diminution in his Peishcush he was very much dissatisfied with. He said it hardly sufficed for his expenses before; and that now he had brought his family and their children with him it ought to have been encreased instead of curtailed—I referred him

5. "A royal letter or missive; a letter from a superior to an inferior".
6. "A present especially from an inferior to a superior".

entirely (as I was instructed to do) to your Lordship for an explanation of this matter, and informed him that I had brought a supply, for his immediate expenses on his journey of 15000 Rupees, and on his objecting to the smallness of the sum sending him 10,000 more. He said that if this was offered him on account of the Peishcush which has been proposed to be established for him, he should decline it, but if merely for his travelling expenses he would accept of it. In reply to this I told him I should content myself with taking a receipt for so much money in general terms and have the rest to be settled afterwards with your Lordship. This I was the more ready to do as I was myself doubtful whether your Lordship meant the money I was authorized by your letter of the 16th ultimo the advance should be exclusive of the stipend or not. But the object which his Royal Highness appeared, both from his former shookas, and from his present conversation, to have most at heart, (because doubtless he expected the accomplishment of all his other wishes to follow of course) was a reconciliation with the Vizier—It was for this he had sent his uncle Akbar Ally Khan from Farruckabad and had written several times since. He now also renewed the subject ; but I told him plainly that from all I had been able to learn of the temper of the Vizier was in, I was convinced it was impracticable at present and that I conceived any further attempt would be highly disagreeable to his Excellency, and would in all probability only tend to make things worse, I wished him to postpone all further thoughts of the matter. The conference was finished without His Royal Highness coming to any final determination on the points in question; but he promised to communicate to me his resolutions when he should come to my Tent in the Evening to return the visit.

When he came according to his promise he contented himself with telling me, that he should entirely confirm to your Lordship's wishes, but that he was determined to make one trial in person to bring about a reconciliation with the Nabob Vizier. That for this purpose he would sett off immediately for Lucknow, in order to take his Excellency by surprise, and that he had no doubt but if he had an

opportunity of enquiring in person into the Reasons of the Nabob's anger it would be very easy to satisfy him that no sufficient cause had been given. This I opposed on the same ground I had taken in respect to his proposal to continue in the Vizier's Territories, and added that it would be a kind of force used on the Nabob, which I could not help thinking was improper, and would not be approved of by your Lordship. His Royal Highness however was deaf to everything that I could urge. He attempted repeatedly to bring me over to his way of thinking but I replied that I could not help continuing in the same opinion I had already declared and that I must beg to be excused having any concern in the matter.

On taking leave of me His Royal Highness set off immediately for Lucknow and I thought it proper to follow him about an hour after. In my way I was met by a Shooltan Sowaur with letters from the Vizier and Hyder Beg Khan informing me that the former had at length in consideration of my wishes consented to pay his personal respects to the Prince on his arrival at Biddinore three or four coss from Lucknow, and requesting that I would accompany His Royal Highness thither. On my arrival at Hyder Beg Khan's at about one o'clock this morning I found that these letters had been written in consequence of some conversation he had with his Excellency after my departure. I learnt also that the Prince, who had arrived an hour or two before me, had seen the Vizier, and had been conducted to His Excellency's Garden house at Gowgaut.

His Royal Highness as I am since informed arrived at Lucknow before midnight. Went immediately to the palace accompanied by only horseman and was near being knocked down by the sentry before he discovered himself. On being told of the Prince's arrival at the Gate, the Vizier, who was retired to rest, immediately came out, presented his Nuzzir, and directed him to be accommodated at the house above mentioned and this morning, his Excellency, his Ministers, and the other attendants of the Court paid their respects. The Vizier means I find to show his Royal Highness every mark of attention and respect during his stay but has referred

him on all points of business to me as one who is commissioned to acquaint him with your Lordships and his Excellency's joint determination and he is resolved not to consent to the continuance either of himself or his family here a resolution which as I conceive it to be conformable to your wishes, I shall not be instrumental without further instructions from your Lordship in diverting him from."

In reply to this, Lord Cornwallis communicated to the Resident on 22nd April, 1788, as follows :—"The great objections to his Royal Highness's residing in the Vizier's dominions must be apparent to himself. But even should his Excellency be inclined to Relax from his resolution on that subject, I should particularly object to his fixing himself at Cawnpore, Furruckabad or Annopshire, because it would facilitate and encourage a continuance of his communications and Intrigues with the different parties now struggling for power, which could produce no solid advantage to himself and would carry an appearance of connivance on our part highly inconsistent with that strict neutrality which we have declared it to be our resolution to maintain.

I can by no means consent to his remaining even in any part of the province of Benares. I have no doubt of the Prince's disposition being naturally mild but unluckily there seems to be much levity in his character and little recollection of all the circumstances of his present situation I cannot therefore flatter myself on the hopes that a mutual satisfaction will be uniform and lasting between us—It will however be my earnest desire that he may never have a pretext to state amongst other grounds for discontent that I have upon any point whatever deceived him,—on that account I wish that in your conversations you should be perfectly explicit with him on the principal subjects which are likely to produce future remonstrances on both sides. On my part I cannot suffer the irregularities of his followers in this country to pass unnoticed, and I am apprehensive of being solicited by him for leave to come to Calcutta, for increase of allowances and for political interference in his favour.

Your own good sense will suggest to you a number of strong arguments in support of the resolutions which we have adopted upon all the above heads, and your inclination will lead you to urge them with every possible degree of delicacy and respect—were he capable of Judging properly of his own situation, you would find little difficulty in shewing him that until some favourable turn should appear in the affairs of his Family, the true dignified line of conduct for him, would be to lead a private and economical life. But however unsuccessful you may prove in persuasion, I wish you not to be deficient in stating plainly the necessity of his conforming on the most material points—You may explicitly declare, or rather repeat that as we desire no accession of Territory, no consideration can induce us to depart from our system of strict neutrality, and that as the whole of our Revenues are allotted to the support of our Civil Establishments, and for the maintenance of large armies to protect our honour and interests in the different parts of India, or for the extinction of the enormous Debts which we contracted during the late expensive war, all solicitations for pecuniary assistance in any form, whether for Khelauts, travelling charges and ca and ca or in any other manner will be entirely fruitless and that his making them can answer no sort of purpose but that of giving me the pain of refusing them—Upon this Principle the money that you have already advanced to him, must certainly be on account of his monthly allowance as being conformable to our general resolution and as it will tend to convince him that we are determined to abide by it—But as an immediate reimbursement of the whole sum might occasion real distress to him I have no objection to its being repaid by reasonable installments from his monthly receipts although I am not perfectly convinced of his Excellency's inability to make the advances himself I will agree to pay his Royal Highness's allowances from the Company's Treasury for the remainder of the Fusselee year 1195 but I shall expect to be repaid in money in the beginning of the year 1196 and to prevent altercations upon such trivial subjects with the Prince, it will be satisfactory to me if

Hyder Beg will consent with a good grace, that after his arrival in the Company's territories his allowance shall be regularly accounted for and paid in Calcutta Sicca Rupees.

Instead of insisting on the Prince's proceeding directly to Rajmahal, I will not object, to his halting at Sassaram in Behar till the rains are over, but I cannot agree to his remaining in any part of Benares and I wish you to give him clearly to understand that I shall take no concern about his allowances, if upon any pretext whatever he makes an unnecessary stay in the Vizier's Dominions."

THE FIRST ATTEMPT TO OPEN A PUBLIC GRANARY
IN TIRHOOT IN THE REGIME OF THE EAST
INDIA COMPANY (BASED ON THE MUZAFFARPUR
COLLECTORATE RECORDS.)

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The Collector of Tirhoot was informed for the first time through a letter received from G. H. Barlow, Sub-Secretary to the Governor-General-in-Council in their Revenue Department, dated the 8th October, 1794 (1), that the government had resolved to establish Public Granaries in different parts of the country in order to answer 'Exigencies in seasons of scarcity'. It was mentioned in the letter that the time was particularly favourable for putting the scheme into effect without delay as there was a bright prospect of 'an abundant harvest in the country'. The Sub-Secretary asked for certain informations in this connection and the reply sent by the Collector in his letters dated the 22nd October and 25th October, 1794, contains a lot of informations of economic value in the last decade of the 18th century.

The Collector was confident of the fact, as mentioned in his reply, that he could purchase one Lac Maund of Paddy or even more, if permitted, without 'distress to the country in any respect whatever'. He quoted the prevailing rate of paddy during the year 1793-94 as four to five maunds a rupee. On the question of whether it was advisable for the government to store rice or paddy, it was suggested that the storing of rice would result in a great loss, as it required constant drying at a heavy cost, and hence it was profitable to store paddy instead of rice. It was pointed out in reply to another query that for making purchases of paddy, the best course was to advance to the Zamindars and Rayats at the beginning of the paddy season and enter

1. Referred to in a letter from the Collector, Tirhoot, to G. H. Barlow, Sub-Secretary, to the Governor-General-in-Council in Revenue Dept., dated Zillah Tirhoot, the 22nd October 1794.

2. Ibid.

3. From same to the same, dated the 25th October, 1794.

into a contract with them for the supply of grain at an appointed time. The Collector was however apprehensive of the fact that the traders and grain-merchants might try to raise the prices in order to defeat the purpose of the measure; but that could be prevented by an equitable distribution of advances throughout the entire rice-growing areas of the district.

In the correspondence under reference a proposal was made to distribute the granaries or storing places all over the district. They were to be constructed on high spots near rivers so that they might be safe from the ravages of flood and at the same time be easily carried from the places of storage to other parts in the country due to cheap transport facilities. The following is a list of places recommended in the various parts of the Zillah for the storing of paddy in public granaries :—

| Name of the place suggested for storage | (2) Pergunnah. | (3) Proximity to a river. | (4) Remarks |
|--|--------------------------------|--|--|
| 1. In the vicinity of the Fort Darbhungah. | ... | Situating on the banks of the Bagmatty | Detached from the Town Transport facilities cheap. |
| 2. Bowarrah | Hathey | 5 Coses from the Kamla Naddy | " |
| 3. Bawangamah | Narsingpoor Koosa h... | 8 Coses from the Koosa River | " |
| 4. Gorah | Tirsutt | 5 Coses from the Bukkiah River | " |
| 5. Rewassey | Bubrah | On the bank of the Bukkiah River | " |
| 6. Belsah | Toorkey (mentioned as Zillah). | " | " |
| 7. Haieepore Tawn | Gurjowl | (On the bank of the Great Gandak) | " |
| 8. Singia | Nve & Buttsella | On the bank of the Little Gandak | " |
| 9. Chunwarra | Rutty | " Great | " |
| 10. Rewah | Belagutch | 3 Coses from the Ganges | " |
| 11. Mowbazeedpoor | Seriesa | On the banks of the Little Gandak | " |
| 12. Pookrerah | ... | " | " |

It is interesting to note that the rivers, being the cheapest and easiest means of communication in those times, almost all the granaries were proposed to be constructed either on the bank of a river or a little away from it. The roads were mostly unsafe and as far as possible the land-routes were avoided. A letter from the Collector of Tirhoot to the Board of Revenue, dated the 3rd September, 1794 speaks of 'the exceedingly bad state of the Public Roads in the District which required immediate attention for affording greater facilities to the travellers from the frequent attacks 'both of Robbers and Tygers, particularly in the North and Eastern Pergunnahs.

There were certain queries with respect to the starting of public granaries which could not be answered by the Collector in the letter of the 22nd October, referred to above. The answers to the remaining questions were sent three days later. In this correspondence we find further interesting details with reference to the method of storing paddy as practised by the inhabitants of the soil, description of their 'Bokhars' or Grain Gollahs, the wastage involved in the native method and the precautionary methods taken to prevent it etc. The natives of the place, as the letter says, 'erected good strong Golahs in which they preserve their grain for 5 to 6 years'. A Golah was usually of an oblong form made of 'Tall trees, split Bamboes and Matts with a Grass Chappar on'. The bottom was raised 2 feet from the ground and inside there was mud plasters all round. A 'Bokhara' or Golah 18 ft. long, 12 ft. broad, and 5½ ft. high could store 800 or 1000 maunds of grain and it could be constructed at a total cost of nearly Rs. 20-only. The only precaution for preventing loss or damage to the paddy stored was to dry it up thoroughly for 7 days in the hot months of the month of Phagun and then the paddy, if stored, would remain 'untouched for 5 to 6 years'. The wastage involved in the process of drying was 12 maunds

4. From the Collector, Tirhoot, to William Cowper, President, and Members of the Board of Revenue, Tirhoot, the 3rd September, 1794.
5. From the Collector, Tirhoot, to the Sub-Secretary to the Governor-General-in-Council, 25th October, 1794.

per hundred in the weight, but this happened only in the first year. The Collector stated that there would be a little additional cost in guarding the public granaries. It would be necessary to appoint two Chowkidars for each granary 'both as a guard over the grain and to keep off the rats', and a Chowkidar could be had at Rs. 2 per mensem only'. It was also suggested that it would be profitable to purchase paddy when available at a cheap rate e.g. in Augran and Poosa' and dispose the whole or a part thereof in 'Assar and Sawan' when it was the dearest in order to make up the loss caused by drying in the first year and also by expenditure in the erecting of the 'Bokharas' or granaries.

The order of the Governor-General-in-Council 'to take measures for purchasing eighty thousand maunds of paddy of the Current Year's Produce' of the district 'without delay' was communicated to the Collector in a letter dated the 31st October, 1794. The view of the government, as expressed in the letter, was 'to purchase paddy for ready money in the markets in the neighbourhood of the Golahs or by contract, under good security, with the native grain-dealers and Byoparries to deliver the grain free of all cost at the Golahs'. The Collector was instructed to keep proper accounts and it was expected of him that he would procure the grain 'at the most moderate rate.' The grain was to be stored at only two places in the district which would be most conveniently situated from the point of view of facilities for the collection of grain and also for transportation to any part of the country, when required. The grain was to be stored in Golahs, each containing 3000 maunds or more, if possible. The Golahs were to be so constructed as to be weather-proof and also secure from fire, inundation or damage from any other quarter such as insects, rats, etc.

On the 10th November, 1794, the Collector while acknowledging receipt of the letter of the 31st ultimo,

6. From G. H. Birlow, Sub-Secretary, to G. Arbuthnot, Collector of Tirhoot, Dated Council Chamber, the 31st October 1794, (Rev. Dept.)
7. From the Collector, Tirhoot, to the Sub-Secretary; dated Tirhoot, the 10th November, 1794.

expressed his desire to carry out the orders as communicated, but he made two suggestions namely (a) that the whole quantity of paddy (80 thousands maunds()) be purchased and stored at only one place in the vicinity of Durbunga instead of two in any parts of the district and (b) that instead of making ready-money purchases in the market, the paddy should be purchased by only one method e.g. by contract with the grain-dealers and Byoparies--a method which was now considered, to be 'the most preferable for the price to a certainty will be considerably enhanced in the Markets immediately it is known that the Government are making purchases'. With regard to the dimensions of the Golahs the Collector said that it was the opinion of the native grain-dealers that one Golah should not store 'a greater quantity than 1000 maunds' if preservation of the grain was a matter to be kept in view.

The Governor-General-in-Council approved the suggestions of the Collector finally for storing the whole of the grain which you have been authorized to purchase at Durbhunga' and further accepted his view' to procure the grain by contract proposed in the letter. This order was communicated on the 28th November, 1794.

In the beginning of February, 1795, the Collector made a reference to the government seeking orders to postpone the purchase of paddy for the present year particularly in view of the changed circumstances in the Zila of Tirhoot. It was stated that while the price of paddy, as already reported in a previous correspondence, was 4 to 5 maunds in the previous year, the present price was $2\frac{1}{2}$ maunds per rupee in the every part of the district'. The abnormal rise in price was attributed to the fact that the Mahajans or traders in Corn had become aware of the intentions of government to start granaries in various parts of the country and they are endeavouring to purchase up all the grains in the country with the expectation of making their own terms'. Due to spread of wild rumours the people of the district had been

8. From the Sub-Secretary to the Governor-General in Council to G. Arbuthnot, collector, dated Council Chamber, the 28th November, 1794.
9. From the Collector, Tirhoot, to the Sub-Secretary, dated Tirhoot, the 6th February, 1793.

led to believe 'of the certainty of an approaching famine due to the intended policy of purchasing grain'. The Collector further wrote that 'it is customary to purchase and weigh off in the month of Phagun but such has been the panic this year.....that the Byoparies began weighing off their grain in Poos and Mang in its green state by which they will loose at least $\frac{1}{4}$ th in weight, and independent of the loss they must sustain in having enhanced the price by their folly. Should a stop be made to the purchase they will discover their error and be convinced that the intention of the Government went only to the general good of the Country and the Inhabitants; I have then no doubt whatever that the grain might be purchased on as profitable a footing as I had the honour of stating in my first addresses.

The receipt of this correspondence was acknowledged by the Sub-Secretary in his letter dated the 6th March, 1795, in which it was stated that 'the Governor-General desires you will not make any further purchases of grain until the ensuing season, should you still be of opinion that it is inexpedient for the present enhanced price of the article.'

Thus the scheme for the storing of paddy in the public granary was shelved for the time being. I have tried to hunt out the records of the Local Collectorate from 1795 to 1800 but could not find any paper which could throw light on the fact when the purchase of grain for public storage was taken in hand. From evidence available it seems that the rise in the price of grains was maintained in the succeeding years due to various factors such as the spread of false rumours about an impending famine, as mentioned above, the speculative methods of the native traders and businessmen, bad harvest during the year 1795-96 due to flood caused by the rise of rivers etc., and this must have been a very important reason in preventing the purchase of paddy or any other grain for storage in the Public Granary as finally decided upon by the Governor-General in Council.

During the years 1795—1800, however, there are two pieces of evidence available, so far as I have been able to find out among the existing records, for the purchase by government

10. From H. G. Tucker, Sub-Secretary, to Arbuthnot, Collector, Tirhoot, dated Council Chamber, the 6th March, 1795.

of grain for military purposes. On the 15th April, 1795, the Board of Revenue was authorised by the Governor-General-in-Council 'to disburse such sums as may be necessary for the purchase of Ten Thousand Maunds of Grain for the Cavalry Stud and for the erection of Temporary Golahs to contain the same at the stations pointed out by the Superintendent. On the 24th December, 1798, it was resolved by the Governor-General's Council 'that the Board of Revenue be immediately directed to issue orders to the Collectors of Benares and the several Collectors in Bihar to purchase and send up to the Fort of Allahabad such quantities of fresh grain as each of them may be desired by the Residency at Lucknow'. The forwarding letter of the 23th December, 1798, instructed the Collectors to commence purchasing immediately. In accordance with the orders of the government, the Collector of Tirhoot despatched 34, 166 maunds and 10 seers of grain on the 10th September, 1798, which reached its destination after considerable delay caused by 'getting through different rivers in order to reach the Ganges. There might have been similar other instances of the purchase of grain by government though further materials on this point are not locally available.

From what has been said above we come to certain conclusions which may be summarised thus :—

(1) The acquisition of Tirhoot along with other parts of North Bihar was of immense advantage to the English East India Company as Tirhoot has always been a land famous for the fertility of its soil and its bumper harvests inspite of the natural calamities caused by draught, flood etc. from which it has had to suffer in all periods of history.

(2) Rice then as now constituted the most important agricultural product of Tirhoot and there were rich rice-

11. Letter dated Council Chamber. the 13th April, 1795, G. Dowdeswell, Secretary to the Board of Revenue.
12. Extract from the Proceedings of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General-in-Council in the Political Department dated the 24th Dec. 1793 Forwarded to the Collector on 26th Dec, 1798
13. From the Collector, Tirhoot, to Lt. Colonel Hyd Allahabad dated Tirhoot, the 31st January, 1800.

growing areas all over the district, particularly in Zillah Durbhungah which was then subordinate to the Muzaffarpur Collectorate. Rivers provided irrigation facilities and the silt deposited on soil during the time of flood was helpful in increasing the productivity of the land. Paddy was grown to such an extent in the last decade of the 18th century that it could be sold at the rate of 4 to 5 maunds during the year 1793-94 though this price due to various factors mentioned above, could not be maintained long.

(3) The native merchants and 'Byoparies' carried on a flourishing trade in corn and they maintained their own granaries which could contain 800 to 1000 maunds of grains. They were a shrewd class of intelligent people who knew to study the food situation in advance and act accordingly. They could forecast the future market tendencies and were not afraid of doing speculative work in their business.

(4) In spite of the high sounding things which were said in connection with the starting of a Public Granary we find that the English officials were guided in this matter, as in many others, more by business and administrative consideration than 'by the general good of the country and its Inhabitants'. The scheme was shelved because the price of paddy had gone high and its purchase would not be as 'profitable' now (1795) as the Collector had imagined in the beginning. If grain had really to be stored 'to answer Exigencies in seasons of scarcity' it would have been extremely desirable to finish the transaction as early as possible and without any consideration of loss or gain.

(5) Till the closing years of the century the government of the Company had not yet been successful in fully establishing peace and order in Tirhoot. The Police had not been properly organised and life was insecure. Robbery and dacoity prevailed, and the condition of roads was so bad and deplorable that the travellers and merchants frequently suffered from the attacks 'both of Robbers and Tygers, particularly in the North and Eastern Pergunnahs of Tirhoot.

THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE FROM 1784 to 1833.

By

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Since 1773, the Central Executive in India consisted of the Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal and his council. The Regulating Act vested in them not only "the whole civil and military government of the said presidency"¹ but also the "power of superintending and controlling the government and management of the Presidencies of Madras, Bombay and Bencoolen respectively", as far as the making of war and peace was concerned, except in cases of emergency and direct orders from the Directors in London. The Governors-in-council were required "to pay due obedience to such orders as they shall receive touching the premises" from the Governor-General in council, to submit to them; "advice and intelligence of all transactions and matters whatsoever that shall come to their knowledge, relating to the government, revenues or interest of the company" and to forward all rules and regulations framed by themselves. The offending Governors-in-council could be suspended by the Governor-General in Council.²

The first Governor-General and four councillors were named in the Act. They were to remain in office for five years and were not removable in the meantime, except by His Majesty...upon representation made by the Court of Directors. After the first five years the appointments were to be made by the Court of Directors.³ The authority was vested in the Governor-General and council jointly and all matters were to be decided by the majority of those present. The Governor-General was given a casting vote in case of equality of votes due to death, removal or absence of any member of the council. The Governor-General-in-council were empowered

1. Clause VII of the East India Company Act 1773.
2. Clause IX of the Act.
3. Clause X of the Act.

to make and issue rules ordinances and regulations. for the good order and civil Government¹ of the Company' settlement of Fort William and the plans and factor subordinate thereto provided that they were not repugnant to the laws of the realm. "The rules and regulations were not valid until duly registered and published in the Supreme Court....with the consent and approbation of the said court" and could be set aside by the King-in-council on application of any person or persons in India or in England.²

The Amending act of 1781 recognised and confirmed the appellate jurisdiction of the Governor-General in Council or any committee thereof in cases decided by the country-courts. The Governor-General in council was to be a court of appeal and record and its judgments were to be final except in civil suits involving a sum of £5,000 or more in which case appeal lay to the King-in-council. The Governor-General-in-council was to act as a revenue court as well, hearing and determining action for offences committed in the collection of revenue, provided it did not inflict death, maiming or perpetual imprisonment as punishment. The Act also empowered in Governor-General in council to frame regulations for the provincial courts and councils from time to time. The regulations were to remain in force unless disallowed by the King-in-council within two years. The hostile relations prevailing between the Governor-General-in-Council and Supreme court after the passing of the Act of 1773 made it difficult to frame regulations until in 1780 the Governor-General-in-Council decided to act against the law and to do without registration and sanction of the Supreme Court. In 1780 the Governor-General-in-council framed additional regulations for the administration of justice in the provincial courts and issued a revised Code in 1781.

Neither the additional regulations nor the revised code appears to have been registered or approved by

1. Clause 36 of the Act.

2. Do.

the Supreme Court. In Act of 1781 vindicated the action of the Governor-General-in-council by freeing them from the necessity of registering and getting the sanction of the Supreme Court for their new regulations for the Provincial Courts and Councils.

The Act 1773 made the Governor-General dependent upon the majority in his council. This led to endless intrigues and differences between Warren Hastings and his council were chronic.¹ At times at hours of grave crises Hastings was overruled by the majority and he had to abide by decisions he did not like. "The present government has proceeded on principles diametrically apposed to mine" he once wrote.² Pitts' India Act reduced the strength of the Supreme Council by one.³ When Cornwallis was offered the Governor-Generalship of Bengal, he accepted it only on being empowered to override the majority in the council in special cases.

An act passed in 1786⁴ conferred upon the Governor-General this power, though the dissentient councillors were allowed the privilege of recording written protests.

Pitts' Act made it possible for the King of England under his sign manual, countersigned by the Secretary of the state or for the Court of Directors of the United Company to remove or recall the Governor-General of Bengal or any member of his council.⁵ Whenever any vacancy occurred in these posts by death, resignation

1. For two years after passing the Regulation Act, the Governor General was steadily outvoted and over ruled by the hostile majority in his council. As he himself wrote—"my situation truly painful and mortifying, deprived of the powers with which I have been invested by the solemn act of legislature... ..denied the respect that is due to my station and character, denied even the right of personal civility etc. etc." Forrest selections from state papers in Foreign Dept. of the Government of India II, 279.
2. Letter to Laurence Sullivan, a leading director of the E. I. Co. dated March 21, 1775.
3. Clause 18 of the Pitt's India Act.
4. Burke opposed this measure as an attempt to introduce and arbitrary and despotic Government in India.
5. C/22 of the Pitts' India Act.

or recall, the Court of Directors were to fill them from among the covenanted servants of the Co. except in the posts of Governor-General or the Governors of Presidencies. By the Act of 1786 the provision requiring the approbation of the King for the choice of the Governor-General was repealed.¹ But as the crown still retained the power of recall this repeal was not of much practical importance.² The same act enabled the combination of the offices of the Governor-General and Commander-in-chief under one person. If there was a separate Commander-in-chief, he could not succeed to the office of the Governor-General unless thereto appointed by the Court of Directors. No resignation from the officers of the Governor-General or his council was to be deemed legal unless it shall be made by an instrument in writing under the hand of the officers.³

The Governor-General and the council of Fort William were given the power and authority to superintend, control and direct the several presidencies under the company in all such points as relate to any transaction with the country-power or to war and peace or to the application of the revenues or forces of such presidencies and settlements in time of war or any such point as shall from time to time be specially referred by the Court of Directors of the said company to their superintendence and control. Even if the presidencies entertain any doubt about an instruction from the Governor-General-in-

1. C/25 of the Pitts' India Act.

2. 26 Geo III, c. 25 quoted in Ilberts' historical introduction p.67.

3. C/28 of the Act of 1784-Hastings's resignation C. H. I. IV. On March 27, 1775 Warren Hastings had authorised his Agent in England, Colonel Maclean to signify to the Directors his intention to resign. But soon after, he had withdrawn this authority from his Agent. The Court had accepted the resignation and appointed Wheler to fill the seat in the Council consequent upon Claverings' elevation to Governor Generalship. But soon after Monson died and Wheler was nominated to that vacancy. Hastings had fixed no date for this resignation. he claimed that he would continue in office. But Clavering would not accept the position. The matter was referred to the Supreme Court which decided in Hastings favour.

Council, they had to obey implicitly unless they received positive orders from the Court of Directors or its Secret Committee repugnant to the instructions of the Governor-General-in-Council.² Regarding matters to be discussed in the Supreme Council it was laid down that it shall consider, first of all questions proposed by the Governor-General.³

To pursue scheme of conquest and extension of dominion in India were declared to be measures repugnant to the wish, honour and policy of the British Nation. Therefore it was not lawful for the Governor-General and Council of Fort William, without the express command and authority of the Court of Directors, either to declare war or commence hostilities or enter into any treaty, make war against any native powers or any treaty for guaranting the territory of any native prince. But exception was made in case hostilities have been actually commenced or preparations actually made for the commencement of hostilities against the British Nation in India or against some princes dependent thereupon, whose territory the United Company should be by treaty bound to defend. When this happened to be the case the Governor-General-in-council was to communicate the needs with full intelligence and information quickly to the Court of Directors.⁴ The subordinate presidencies could not commence hostilities without express orders from the Supreme Government or from the Court of Directors. Every treaty and engagement with powers was to be submitted to the Governor-General in Council for ratification. If the Governor or any councillor of any subordinate presidency willfully disobeyed any order of the Supreme Government he was liable to suspension from the exercise of his respective powers and functions. He was also required to submit to the Supreme Government copies of all his orders, resolutions and acts in

1. Clause 31 of the Pitts' India Act.
2. Clause 32 of Do.
3. Clause 33.
4. Clause 34.

council and also advice and intelligence of all transactions and matters which would come to his knowledge.¹

The Governor-General of Fort William was empowered to arrest any person or persons, suspected of carrying on any illicit correspondence dangerous to the peace and safety of the settlement or of the British possessions in India, with any of the princes, Rajas or zamindars. Within five days of his arrest charges would be delivered to him and the accused was permitted to plead his defence in writing together with a list of much witnesses as he shall desire to be examined in support of his defence.²

The Charter Act of 1793 contained many provisions relating to the Central Executive in India. If a vacancy occurred in the post of the Governor-General or the membership of his council provision was made for short time arrangement pending the arrival or appointment of permanent incumbent. The member of the Supreme Council next to the Commander-in-Chief was to act as Governor-General unless the Commander-in-Chief was provisionally appointed to the vacancy. A senior merchant was to be appointed to a vacancy in the council by the Governor-General or Governor as the case may be. The Commander-in-Chief when not the Governor-General might be made the second member of the Supreme Council by the Court of Directors but he was not entitled to any salary in respect of his being a member of the said council unless the same was granted to him especially by the Court of Directors. It was laid down that when the Commander-in-Chief of Bengal visited any presidency he was to be a member of the Council there during the period of his stay.* The Act reiterated the fact that the King could remove any servant of the company in India, but this did not in any way prevent the Directors from recalling their servants. The departure from India of the Governor-General with the intention of returning to Europe was to be taken as resignation from the post.

1. Clause 36 of the Pitts' India Act.

2. Clause 53

If the Governor-General, Governor or a councillor wanted to resign he was to deliver it in writing to the Secretary of the Public Department of his presidency. Only then could it be deemed valid. All orders and proceedings of the Governor-General in Council before being put into execution were to be signed by the Chief Secretary of the Council by the authority of the Governor-General in Council.

The Act further maintained Governor-General's power of direction, superintendence and control over the affairs of the other presidencies. When the Governor-General would send orders or instructions to the presidencies he was to mention therein the date and time of the receipt of the last despatches from the Court of Directors through the Board of Control. If the presidencies received any instructions from the Court of Directors contrary or repugnant to those from the Governor-General they would have to send to the letter copies of the despatches with their time and date. War could not be declared or hostilities commenced by the Governor-General without receipt of instructions from the Court of Directors but preparations for hostility could be made. Similarly the Governments of the presidencies could not declare war save on orders from Fort William or the Court of Directors. The Governor-General, if he liked could adopt, suspend or reject any order or measure on which he deferred from his council. He was to take full responsibility for any consequences the execution of the measure might entail. This power was not given to an acting Governor-General. When on tour in other presidencies the Governor-General was to nominate the senior most member of the Supreme Council as Vice-President to preside over meetings of the Supreme Council during the formers' absence. Even while absent from head quarters the Governor-General could issue orders and instructions to officers of the Company in any presidency.

The Court of Directors with the approval of the Board might one or all powers of the Governor-General to act on his sole authority. Neglect to execute the orders of the

Court of Directors was to be deemed as a misdemeanor and was to be quickly punished. The Governor-General was also forbidden to indulge in trade and commerce on his own private account.

Lord Wellesley gave some thought to the problems of Indian administration. On July 9, 1800 a despatch was sent from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors detailing therein the nature and extent of the powers and responsibilities of the Governor-General in Council and suggesting ways and means for the better discharge of their functions. The despatch said that the British administration in Bengal was based on the British constitution. The constitution prevailing in Bengal in those days needed a modification so as to make it suited to the conditions obtaining in Bengal. Though the lines between executive, legislative and judicial matters were distinctly drawn, it was necessary that the Governor-General in Council should exercise exclusively the entire legislative authority. Though Indians were excluded from all participation in the legislative authority, abundant security was afforded to them and it was understood that the Governor-General-in-Council would always legislate for the happiness and benefit of Indians. The first act of the Governor-General in Council was the confirmation of the ancient laws of Indians in all matters connected with their religious prejudices or their domestic relations. Judges who in course of trials came into contact with the masses, could propose such general or local laws as they thought fit. As a safeguard against every abuse of the legislative power vested in the Governor-General in Council it was made obligatory for him to point and publish every legislative Act in a form that renders him responsible to his country for the unjust or unwise exercise of that power.

The executive authority of the Government was of necessity vested in the Governor-General in Council. It conducted the foreign policy of the Government. In the internal Government it enjoyed vast discretionary powers but Wellesley hoped that with the speedy progress of

legislation it will be slowly diminished. The Governor-General in Council also constitute the Sadar Diwani and Nizamats Courts. Wellesley thought that political security demanded the continuance of the executive and legislative authority in the Governor-General in Council. But there was no reason why the judicial work should continue to be performed by that body. The Home Government could effectively comfort the executive and legislative activities of the Governor-General in Council. But it could not control his judicial work and the Governor-General in Council may render the laws altogether nugatory by abuses, omissions or delays in their administration. The security of private rights and property demanded that judicial authority should be delegated to some other body. Wellesley also thought that the constant appearance of the Governor-General in Council in open court of justice would not be compatible with his dignity. Moreover the presence of the Governor-General in-Council in open court prevent the pleading of cases with full freedom. Another pressing argument in favour of the abolition of judicial authority was that the conscientious discharge of duties of the Sadar Diwani Adalat and the Sadar Nizamats Adalat would itself occupy the whole time of the Governor-General in Council. These courts did not only dispense justice but supervised subordinate courts functioning under them and proposed legislation for the consideration of Governor-General in Council. On account of these important considerations Wellesley recommended to the Court of Directors the appointment of separate judges for these courts.

The executive functions of the Governor-General in Council consisted of two parts. Firstly it exercised the executive authority of the Government of the British possession in India and secondly it was the chief representative of the company in their commercial capacity. Relations with native states and maintenance of peace and good Government in British India occupied most of the time of the Governor-General in Council. Another important branch of the executive authority is the super-

vision over civil and military affairs of the subordinate presidencies. Wellesley was of opinion that this control should be extended to all matters in any respect with the unity, strength and stability of the British power in India.¹ The Governor-General-in-Council had to do the the superintendence of the subordinate settlements and of British acquisitions from the French and the Dutch.

As the chief representative of the Company in their commercial capacity, the Governor General in Council had the immediate superintendence of their commercial concerns in Bengal and exercises a general control over the provision of the investment at the other presidencies including a considerable degree of attention to the affairs in China.

The secretariat of the Governor-General-in-council consisted of one secretary and four sub-secretaries. Wellesley

1. One of the grounds on which Lord Wellesley was censured by the court of Directors was excessive interference in the affairs of the subordinate presidencies. "Before his time, observed the court, 'it was not the practice of the Supreme Government to interfere, unless upon reference from the subordinate presidencies, in the minute details of their affairs, much less to oblige them of any authority political of military with the law has invested with them. The court concluded: 'it appears to have been the intention of Marquis Wellesley to concentrate all the political powers of British India in the person of the Governor General and to consider the whole as forming, in respect of him one Government through every passed and ramification of which his authority was practically and constantly to prevade. Quoting instances of the Governor Generals' interference in the affairs of the subordinate presidencies, the court summoned up by saying:—Thus the principle of extending the controlling powers of the Supreme Government over all the details of other presidencies in not only directly avowed but even a decent freedom of opinion on their part censured as a resistance of it. We are aware that it might be difficult and would be inexpedient to define by any exact line the limits beyond which the interference of the Supreme Government ought not in any case or circumstances to go, even in the internal affairs of the subordinate presidencies and we would be far from countenancing in them anything like a sprit of disobedience or resistance, but we think it clear that the law did not intend that the Supreme Government should assume the direction in detail of the business of other Governments as it does the direction of country under the Bengal Government".

See P. E. Robert's : India Under Welleslev. P. 271.

impressed upon the Court the necessity of bringing men of ability, integrity and experience to work in these capacities. Burdened as he with arduous work and heavy responsibilities, he determined that all public papers shall be authenticated by the signature of the secretary to the department. Correspondence with the court of Directors and the subordinate presidencies were however signed by the Governor-General-in-council.

The second suggestion were not acted upon when the Charter Act of 1813 was passed. This Act did not touch the Central Executive, for the stipulation contained to the effect that the Court of the Directors could make appointments to the officers of the Governor General, Governor and Commander-in-chief subject to the approbation of the crown. Thus the control of the crown over higher appointments which had been eclipsed since 1786 was regained.

During the rule of Wellesley's successors the hold of the central government over the subordinate presidencies seems to have loosened. In one of his minutes' (Dated Sept. 14, 1831) Lord William Bentinck says that "this control was rather nominal than real". It had been confined to general members of government, to political negotiations, to the making of treaties to the declaration of war, to great financial arrangements and to the confirmation of all regulations. In the data of the administration of the subordinate presidencies the supreme government did not interfere. The Supreme government thought that after an indiscretion has been committed by the subordinate government it would be embarrassing and humiliating for the latter if the former condemned it roundly. Bentinck also records that the provincial governments objected strongly to their regulations being made subject to the sanction of the Supreme government. But according to his opinion they were making an inordinate claim. Bentinck's council nevertheless thought that the duties of the Supreme government, should be exclusively those of general control and superintendences. Bentinck himself stood for a more effective control over the

subordinate presidencies. The interference should be rather of check, of a preventing and restraining than of an active and meddling character. The Supreme government should come in aid and not in suppression of the home authority. He suggested that the presidencies should send all reports their proceedings directly to the Supreme government.

Lord William Bentick made a valuable suggestion regarding the reconstruction of the supreme council. As a large part of India by his time came under Company it would have been advisable to follow uniform policy. So the Supreme council should be composed of the Governor General and one councillor from each presidency. The knowledge and experience of the whole world would thus be combined for the general improvement. "How much would the revenue settlement of Bengal have been promoted if by such means the spirit of Sir Thomas Munro's superior management could have been infused and practically brought to bear upon this branch of our administration" Minute quoted in A. C. Bannerjee, Indian Constitutional Documents Vol I p. 193. Thus ran his line of thinking.

The Charter Act of 1833 made many changes in the structure and functioning of the Central Executive in India. Henceforth the Governor General of Fort William was to be called the Governor General of India. A fourth ordinary member was added to the Governor-Generals' council. Unlike the previous three members he was not to be recruited from the Co's covenanted service. He would be appointed by the Court of Directors subject to the approbation of His Majesty to be signified in writing by his Royal Sign Manual, countersigned by the President of the Board of Control. It was provided that this member would not be entitled to sit or vote in the council except in meetings convened for making laws and regulations. The Commander-in-chief of Bengal was to be appointed an extraordinary member of the council.

Extensive legislative powers were granted to the Governor-General in Council. It would make laws and regulations repealing, amending or altering laws and regulations whatever were in force in British India. It was entitled to make laws for all persons, whether British or native foreigners others and for all counts of justice whether established by His Majesty's charters or other wise and the jurisdictions thereof. All servants of the East Indian Company within the dominions of Princes and States in alliance with the Comany were bound by these laws. But the legislative power was limited in so far as the Governor General-in-Council had not the power to repeal, vary or suspend or affect any provision of the Charter Act or any provisions for the Acts for punishing Mutiny and desertions of officers and soldiers or any provisions of any Acts to be passed in feture affecting the Company or its territories and inhabitants. It could not make a law or regulation which would affect any prerogative of the crown of the authority of the parliament or the constitution and rights of the East Indian Company or any part of the unwritten laws and constitution of the United Kingdom upon which may depend on any degree the allegiance of any person to the crown or the sovereignty or dominion of the crown over any part of British India. The Court of Directors could disallow any Act of regulation passed by the Governor General in council. Laws made by the Governor General-in-council henceforth enjoyed the same force as Acts of Parliament. Laws thus made did not need to be registered in any court. Without the sanction of the court of Directors, the Governor General-in-council could not make any law or regulation were by powers shall be given any Courts of justice, other than those established by Royal Charters, to sentenced to death any of His Majesty's natural bound subjects bound in Europe or children of such subjects or which shall abolish any of the Courth of Directors. the Governor General-in-council could not make any law or regulation were by powers shall be givn any Courts of justice, other than those established by Royal

Charters, to sentenced to death any of His Majesty's natural bound subjects bound in Europe or children of such subjects or which shall abolish any of the Courts of Justice established by Royal Charters.

The Directors framed rules for the functioning of the Governor-General-in-council with the approbation of the Board of Control. Such rules had the same force as the provisions of the Act itself though such rules had to be laid before both houses of Parliament in the session just after approval by the board of Control. At the time of framing laws and regulations the Governor Generals' council was to have at least three ordinary members present. When discharging other functions only one ordinary member besides the Governor-General was essential. In case of a tie, the Governor-General was to have a casting vote.

The Governor-General was given power to override the majority in his council if he thought it necessary for maintaining the safety, tranquillity or interests of British India. The dissentient members had the privilege to get their views entered in the secret consultation. The Governor Generals' Council could meet even in the Presidencies of Bombay or Madras. In such a case, the Governor of the Presidency in which the Council meets acted as an extraordinary member of the Council.

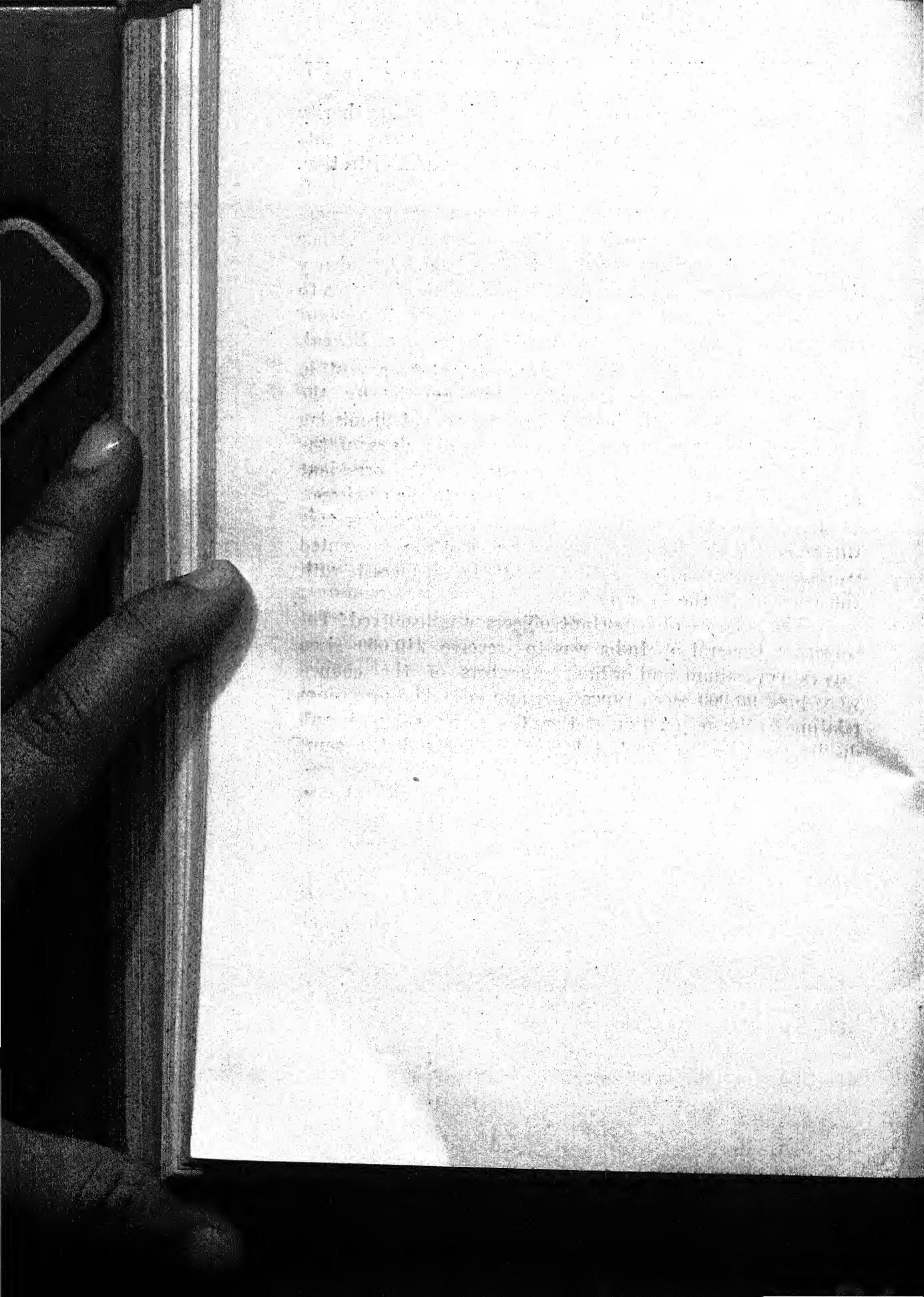
In the Act itself, the right of the British Parliament to make laws for Indian people was expressly declared to be full and complete. Right was reserved to Parliament to control, supercede and prevent all proceedings and Acts of the Governor-General-in-Council, to repeal all laws and regulations made by it. All enactments made by the council were to be laid before both houses of Parliament.

The Governor-General of India was to remain the Governor of Bengal also. The Governor of subordinate presidency could make or suspend a law or regulation only till the time when the Governor General had not made his decision known. Moreover no Governor could create a new post, grant any salary, gratuity or allowance without the previous sanction of the Governor General-in-council.

The Governor-General-in-Council was to have full authority to superintend and control the subordinate governments in all points relating to the civil and military administration. The presidency Governors has the right of suggesting draft laws to Governor-General-in-Council when the Governor-General visited any presidency the powers of Governor was not to be suspended for this reason. Presidency Governors were required to submit all important papers to the Governor General. The Governor General was to appoint a member of his council to be Deputy Governor of Bengal.

The King could make an appointment to a post in India which had not been filled for two months by the Court of Directors. He had also the power of dismissing any servant of the Company. Within eight days of the King's order it was to be countersigned by the president of the Board of Control and handed over to the Chairman or Deputy Chairman of the Company. The Directors themselves could dismiss any servant except that appointed by the crown. Such a servant could be dismissed with the consent of the crown.

The salaries of important officers was also fixed. The Governor General of India was to receive 240,000 sicca rupees per annum and ordinary members of the council were give 96,000 sicca rupees per annum. The provisions relating to the resignation of the Governor General and disobedience to the court of Directors remained the same as before.



THE RAPE OF INDIAN SHIPS IN THE INDIAN WATERS, 1612

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1. *Policy of Reprisal Decided by the English and its Advantages*

After blockading Mocha (May 14—June 19, 1611) and exacting some compensation from the Turks, Sir Henry Middleton, the General of the Sixth Voyage of the English E. I. C., sailed towards India and reached the bar of Surat on 26th September, 1611. Battling against Portuguese rivalry and resistance, denied trade privileges by the Mughals and finally ordered by Mukarrab Khan, Governor of Cambay to leave the place, Middleton sailed from Surat on February 11, 1612. Since journey to Bantam was not permitted by the monsoon, he decided to return to the Red Sea, and avenge himself on those powers that had injured the Turks, the Mughals, and the Portuguese.¹

This policy is set forth in detail by Nicholas Downton (Feb, 1612). "Our best way", he concluded, "is to lie in the way of the Red Sea", where the English would find not only "Ships of Surat and Cambaya with divers others, the subjects of the great Mogul but also men of Diu subject to the Portugals". The capture of these ships would not only injure the Mughals and the Portuguese, but also "be no small disturbance to the Turks at Mocha, for though there were no goods

1. Vide my article on *Indian Merchant Ships and their Skippers in the Red Sea Ports*, 1611'. Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, 195. See also letter of Richard Cocks to Sir Thomas Smith, Governor of E. I. C. (Bantam, 12 January, 1613): L.R.I. 219; letter of Edmond Camden to the Rt. Worshipful Company of Merchants Adventurers in the V111th Voyage for the E. Indies. Bantam, 15th January, 1613. *Ibid*, 226; letter of Thomas Aldworth, Wm. Biddulph & Nicholas Withington to (the E. I. C) Surat, 25 January, 1612. *Ibid* 233—5.

of theirs thereon, the loss of customs would "greatly pinch & vex them or 'spoil the Turks' scale" at Aden & Mocha. While admitting that this would "be thought a great scandal to our nation over all India, amongst those which are Mussulmen", Downton expected that the "rumour" (of scandal) would be "appeased" by the policy of the English of avenging themselves only on the wrong-doers, and of allowing the ships of powers, which did not "harm" the English, like those of Dabhol, Malabar and other places, to pass, unmolested on condition of their leaving Mocha and going to Jedda, the authorities of which had not "wronged" the English. This course would also warn the Mughals and others that had abused the English that "Our nation is not to be so coarsely used", and that if any power would wrong the English, the latter also would "right ourselves" on their ships and goods." So reprisal would compel them to duly honour and respect the English. Grant of trade privileges was the only sure means of securing the friendship of the English. Downton felt that as the Mughals had denied the English trade privileges under the influence of the Portuguese, the Mughals "should not be threatened but also pinched."¹ The Mughals could be made to yield only by threat of force or fear of harm.²

Middleton's fleet reached Dabhol on the 16th February, 1612. Its Governor, learning that his men had met Middleton's party last year at Mocha, tried to satisfy the English, as it would be otherwise

1. No. 82, 'Nicholas Downton, his opinion, what fit to be done for the time, next ensuing, Written in the Road of Dabul, Feb. 24th, 1611. L. R. I. 155—161. It was written aboard the *Peppercorn* and finished 26th Feb. *ibid* 161.
2. ".....for they being a proud braggart people longer than they be kept in awe (as it were with a whip) they will insult over and despise all others, but to them which they know can do them harm, they will be ready to kiss their shoe. And if God permit we take more from them than will heal the Company of their loss, and they (English) return them the overplus in other goods, they (English) shall not only win their (Mughals) love, but also gain the reputation to be just men". *ibid*. 161.

dangerous to the outgoing mercantile marine of Dabhol.¹ Here Middleton's party captured two ships, viz., (i) a Cochin ship, the *St. Nicholas*, laden principally with dried cocoanuts, and bound for Chaul, and (ii) a frigate of Chaul, bound for Ormuz. After seizing some "bales of raw silk with other things of small value" from the former, and some bags of rice as provision from the latter, the English "dismissed" them.²

Leaving Dabhol on 5th March, Middleton's fleet returned to the Straits of Bab-el Mandeb, "to intercept" all ships entering the Red Sea. By this means (i) the English wanted to extract satisfaction from the Turks of Mocha for all wrongs done to them. (ii) They wanted the shippers and merchants of Cambay, Surat and other Mughal subjects to inform their Emperor that "the subjects of the king of England" were loath to "put up with so great abuses unavenged". The English would either capture the goods of Indian ships as a compensation for their own losses in India or at least exchange English merchandise for Indian goods valued at prices prevailing in India. (iii) They also wanted to seize the ships of "the Portugals' town" of Diu and their goods "towards the righting of ourselves against the Portugals".³

2. *Indian Ships intercepted at Aden and the Straits*

Accordingly Middleton instructed the *Peppercorn* (under Downton) to remain at Aden (till the end of April) so as to "intercept" or divert the ships of "all

1. L. R. I. 176.

2. *Ibid.* 177. Danvers, in his introduction (*Ibid.*, XXXIV) says that both the ships belonged to Cochin & were bound for Chaul; the articles seized are also mentioned differently.

3. *Ibid.*, 177. The English further wanted to rescue an English Ship supposed to be at the Straits. So Middleton sent the *Darling* in advance to Socotra, to search the missing ship or get news of any Englishmen and instructed her to meet him either at Mount Felix or at 8 leagues short of Aden'. *Ibid.* p. 162. Richard Cocks informed Sir Thomas Smith, Governor of E. I. C. (12 Jan. 1613) that since the 'Staying' of the ships might involve complications, Middleton wanted Englishmen of the Eighth voyage to leave the neighbourhood with their goods, L. R. I. 219.

nations, both friends & foes," coming there to the Straits of the Bab-el-Mandeb where Middleton (the *Trades Iacrease* and the *Darling*) would lie in ambush for intercepting them.¹

Probably some of the Indian merchants and skippers were forewarned of this impending danger. Two very rich and large junks were found by Edmond Camden of the Eighth Voyage unloading their goods at Mocha with great expedition only four days before the arrival of Middleton at the Straits.²

Besides diverting two Malabar ships from Aden towards the Babel Mandeb, Downton intercepted several Indian vessels in the Straits & seized their merchandise.

April 9, 1612: (i) Morning—a ship of Larree (Lahari Bandar),³ having many passengers, bound for Mocha. Downton's merchants searched her and found thereon "divers packs and fardles" of cloth, seeds, various sorts of leather, several jars of butter and of oil (for cooking and burning). Downton 'resolved to take out of her' those packs of Indian cloth which might be of use to the English and some butter and oil for their own needs, before sending her to Mocha.

(ii) 3 P. M.—Downton descried a ship of 200 tons, followed by

(iii) "a huge sail" whose main yard was 43 or 44 yards long. Downton at first took her to be the Great Remeë (Reheme i.e. *Rahimi* of Surat), belonging to Akbar's wife, and carrying nearly 1500 passengers and pilgrims to Mocha or Jedda, the port of Mecca. She was the principal target of English reprisal, as her capture would bring home to the Mughal Emperor the impatience of 'the subjects of the king of England' at the dishonour to their king and wrongs inflicted on themselves.

1. *Ibid.* 177, 162. Downton parted from Middleton on 2nd April, 9 leagues E. N. E. from Aden and remained there till 16th August, 1612. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.* 227.

3. The port town of the Indus. Is this "the ship of Pourtmean near to Zinda"? The list of articles indicate the exports of Sind to Arabia and thus the nature of Indo-Arabian trade. See *Ibid.* 162, 178.

Leaving five armed guards to hold the Sind vessel. Downton gave chase to the big ship, which, on closer view, was discerned to be not the *Rahimi* of Surat, but the Mamodie (*Muhammadi*) of Dabhol. Dabhol being a friendly power, she could not be intercepted. Nevertheless Downton wanted to attack her for what he considered to be pride or insolence of her Captain (Malik Ambar) in neither visiting his General Middleton at Mocha Road nor at Dahhol. As Downton's vessel was unable to catch the faster ship of Dabhol, he fired a shot at her.

Towards evening Downton took the other ship to belong to Diu but her crew gave out she was 'Ruperil', the cotton ship of Cutsnagana, not far from the Rio de Zinda. From her Downton carried away several packs of cotton wool, and of cloth, some butter and oil. Then he caused the two ships to "edge up" with him "into the shoaled waters on the Arabian Coast."¹

On 10th and 11 May Downton took out of the Lahari ship 66 fardles of Indian cloth but as they were found to be unnecessary, these were returned, together with part of their butter and oil. Only 8 corge of common baftas was detained, in exchange partly of 270 iron bill hooks and partly of cash. Subsequently the passengers and pilgrims of the cotton ship were put into the other Indian ships, which tried their best to hasten to Mocha.²

Whiles Downton was thus using the Indian ships at his pleasure at Aden, Middleton, at Asabb on the Abyssinian

1. *Ibid.*, 163, 178—179. Leaving Aden on 7th May, Downton arrived at the Babel Mandeb on 9th (*Ibid.*, 162). On 14th May Downton brought the 'cotton ship of 'Ruperil' with him to Assab. (*Ibid.*, 179).
2. Before the departure of the ships, a jelba, belonging to Benderzeade (a town 4 leagues westward from Bender Caser, 6 leagues west from Munt Fellick (Mount Felix ?), carrying mats for Mocha, informed Downton that Middleton was at Asabb (). Downton seized many jelbas laden with mats of different towns on the Abyssinian coast out of which he took "72 goodly Barbary sheep, with great rumps, for which he gave 72 coarse dutties worth 18 or 20 per piece."

coast, came to have "at (his) command all the desired ships of India", numbering 11, viz.,

- | | |
|--|----------|
| (i) the Remeë (the <i>Rahimi</i>), 1500 tons | of Surat |
| (ii) the Hassanee (the Harsonee), of 600 tons | |
| (iii) the Mamadea (the Mohamadee), of 150 tons | |
| (iv) the Salamatie (the Sullamettee), of 450 or 460 tons | of Diu |
| (v) the Caderee, of 200 tons | |
| (vi) the Agancany of 208 tons, of the Shahbunder's | |
| (vii) (viii, ix) 3 ships of Malabar | |
| (x) the Caudree. 400 tons of Debull (Dabhol) | |
| (xi) 'a great ship of Cannanor'. ¹ | |

3. *Sir Henry Middleton Finds a Co-sharer in Captain Saris*

But Middleton had to meet a co-sharer in his plunder of the Indian ships in Captain Saris of the Eighth Voyage of the E. I. Company, whose 'pride, turbulent and cross dealing' has been represented by Downton to be as injurious to Middleton as 'the cruelties and diasters imposed on him by the Turks'.² On April 18, 1612, the two English Captains entered into a contract on the following terms:—(a) "it was agreed to put off all our English commodities and such Indian wares (suitable for use of Englishmen) as by mutual consent of certain of the merchants of both sides",³ (b) "of all

1. *Ibid.*, 164, 179. On p. 179 we read of a ship of Carapatane ?)

See also *Ibid.*, 220. Exchange of visits seemed to have taken place between Middleton and Saris and the King of Raheita.

2. For the presentation of Saris's case, see (i) letter of Richard Cocks (12 Jan. 1612-3). L. R. I. 219, (ii) letter of Edmond Comden (15 Jan. 1612-3). *Ibid.*, 226-8.

3. The English would "gain by our goods so much in the hundred as the Indians would gain by their goods at Swally Strand, without any adventure by Sea". Since the English had gone to India to purchase these goods but could not, so they would exchange their own merchandise for Indian articles valuing the latter at their price, in India and paying only 10 % more to cover transit customs and other charges. *Ibid.*, 179.

things had by this forcible trading", Middleton was to have $\frac{2}{3}$ part for the sixth voyage and Saris $\frac{1}{3}$ part for the eighth voyage. Settlement with the Turks was not included, as they had 'prejudiced' the sixth and not the eighth voyage. But Saris agreed not to hinder Middleton in forcing "satisfaction (by the release of those ships) from the Turks."¹

Thereupon Saris departed for Mocha, Middleton continuing to intercept all incoming ships. But soon the two captains came to loggersheads over the sharing of the spoils. Saris would not allow Middleton to take satisfaction from the Turks, in which he would have no share, but would allow his rival "to ransom the Indian ships" at as high rates as possible and to raise anything from the Indians of which he would get a third share. On the other hand Middleton would have what he demanded from the Turks or nothing at all. He held that it would be "punishment enough" for the Turks to seize the goods of Indian ships and give in exchange thereof English merchandise and thereby deprive them of about half of the customs. This would also enable Middleton to dispose of the English goods, which it was difficult to vend elsewhere. At the same time Middleton held that the 'forcible exchanging of English goods for Indian goods would be a sufficient punishment for the Indians for the wrongs inflicted by them on the 6th Voyage. Again, restitution from the Turks was not possible without release of the Indian ships. But even if he released them, Saris "would rummage all the ships to the keel" and take one-third at his pleasure alike from those inflicting damages on Middleton (e.g. Gujrat ships) and from Middleton's friends (e.g. Dabhol & Malabar ships).²

1. *Ibid.* 164—5 : 179. 220.

2. Another point of dispute was that Saris objected to Middleton's terming Indian vessels 'ships' and preferred to call them junks, as the ships of China were termed at Bantam. Downton criticised this "as if a huge galley, galleon, Argosy or Carrack might not be called a ship."

This dispute tended to spoil the prospects of Middleton's securing compensation from the Turks.¹ The latter tried to turn this dispute to their best advantage and even accentuate them. Moreover they naturally endeavoured to raise as much customs from Indian ships as possible as contributing to the compensation money.

On 23rd May the party of Middleton seized a large quantity of goods on the Agamcany (*Azamkhani*) of Diu, a ship of the Shahbunder of the Banyans of Mocha. The latter thereupon promised at Assab to Saris that he would get 50 thousand rials of eight, if Middleton got from the Turks one hundred thousand rials from the Turks after the bringing over of the Indian ships to Mocha. On 9th June the Turks and the Shahbunder departed for Mocha, after having visited Middleton and informed him that since his demand was heavy, they would await "the Basha's further pleasure". The Shahbunder also added that "whensoever he brought all the ships over to Moho (Mocha), he need not but doubt but a composition would presently be made and money would have had at an instant."² This would throw light on the nature and opulence of the Indo-Arabian trade of the period.

4. *Method of Plundering Indian Ships*

The method of plunder of the Indian ships was described by Downton. The 'daily employment' of his men consisted in

- (i) searching all Indian ships one after another, and
- (ii) sending therefrom Indigo or packs of such cloths suitable for use in England to their own ships, for

1. *Ibid* I, 166-67, 169-70, 227-8. For this purpose Middleton "stayed" (detained) both the people of Dabhol and Malabar. Saris would not permit those detained after the conclusion of the contract, to depart. He would permit only those who clamoured to depart after finishing their business, and return to India that year i. e. in August. (*Ibid*, 170).
2. *Ibid* I, 167, 168, 171. Saris caused his men to search the "Jelba or Barque" of the Turks and the Shahbunder to the Keel (*Ibid*, 169). He even endeavoured to interrupt all boats coming to or going from Middleton and threatened to burn some of the ships in the road. He was, however, pacified by the Shahbunder (*Ibid*, 171-2).

counting and division between Middleton and Saris according to contract :—

(iii) forcibly exchanging English goods in lieu thereof at rates fixed by the English on consideration of the value of the English goods in India and of that of Indian goods together with transit charges.¹ The Mughal Government and the Indian States must bear a responsibility in the matter for their failure to provide armed convoys for their merchant ships. At the same time the Turkish Government failed to protect the incoming ships in the Red Sea. Middleton himself held that he had "sufficiently vexed" the Indians "by taking their best goods at our town price", which was not half the value they would have got in the Red Sea ports. At the same time Middleton never expected the Turks to pay him compensation unless the Indian ships were released,—as the Turks would recover in their customs whatever had been paid by them.² The messengers returning from the Basha to Mocha were sent over to Assab to discuss the terms of settlement with Aga Mamee (Mammy), Captain of the Mocha galleys (who had come from the Governor of Mocha to Middleton) and Shermale, the Shahbunder of the Banyans. They urged upon the

1. Cf. "..... our English goods delivered in lieu thereof, though with no willingness by the Indians received, but have it they must, at such rates as we had agreed upon; for some things that we might gain 50 per 100 and for other things less according to the value and esteem thereof in their country, which was done in regard partly of the long way we had bought it for them, and were in their country to sell it, and could not be permitted, as also for that they would gain by us 50 per cent of their cloth at Swally Strand at their own doors without any adventure by Sea or else we should not have it) and we gave them for their commodities ten per cent more than it cost in their country where we had been to buy it and could not be suffered, and for such things as came from far in the country that cost more the carriage, they had 20 per cent more than it cost, in lieu of the charges; and by this way we put off all the remains of our goods brought out of England, exchanging it only for Indian wares, without disbursing of any money". *Ibid*, I. 169. Moreland has not mentioned this point among the various methods, followed by the Europeans for provision of purchasing power. (See *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*.)

2. *Ibid*, 181.

English to abate their demand of 100,000 rials but offered nothing in return. They wanted to hold a conference with "the Nahudas and Principals of all the Indian ships," probably,—as Downton conjectured,—to raise some revenue on their goods for satisfaction of the English, or "to confer about their customs and raise somewhat therein towards the payment." But no agreement was arrived at during 8 days' stay.¹

All these negotiations and delays were extremely sickening to the Indian skippers who wanted to return to India in time after completing their business as quickly as possible, so as not to lose another year. The Nahuda of the *Rahimi* bound for Jedda, preferred to be personally maltreated to returning to Mocha and was willing to deliver any goods on his ship at any price demanded by the English,—even at a low price,—so that he might be freed and proceed on his journey. All Indian ships had directions to start by July 10.²

The Indian ships were guarded by Downton and the men of Middleton on the Mocha road in the hope of getting compensation from the Turks. But the latter, seeing all the ships on the road and even some Indians permitted to land, refused to pay any compensation to the English for wrongs inflicted on them in "another man's government" (Moghals?), and accused the English of having subjected the Indians to unjust extortions. Middleton replied that the only means of doing some harm to the Turks by forcing money from them was by causing loss and misery to the Indians, and so he had no other

1. *Ibid.* 179-81. The Aga of Mocha and Mammy Captain, an Italian renegade, wrote to Middleton (28 June 1612) that they could not make peace with Middleton on account of Saris's false demands. *Ibid.*, 196.
2. *Ibid.* 182-3. Middleton asked Downton to bring the *Rahimi*, then at a neighbouring island, and to restore the captured 'goods and and packs' to the Lahari Bandar ship, as they were unfit for English consumption. The latter lost only some jars of butter and of lamp oil and a small quantity of sugar and green ginger.

way to "craze" the Turks but by carrying all the Indian ships away out of this sea.¹

5. *Ransom and Release of the Indian Ships.*

Meanwhile the English were carrying on secret manoeuvres regarding the ransom money to be paid for the release of all Gujrat and Diu ships.² Difficulties arose over agreeing on the sums to be paid by every ship. Even Downton admitted that this developed into "a most trouble some and heart-renting business," on account of (i) the outcries of the poor people, (ii) their difficulty in getting money, caused by the haste of the English (iii) and the high rate of interest charged by the Turks in giving them money.

On 25th July, a meeting was held on board the *Muhammadi*, the ship of Dabhol, between Middleton and the Indian Skippers successively to decide the ransom of each Indian ship, "to set down at what rates every ship should be taxed to pay for freedom". (i) the Great Remec (*Rahimi*, 1500 tons): Nahuda Meer Mohomet Tikke (Taqi?) Sherrife, was the first to be called. He was asked to pay 30,000 rials, as the tonnage of his ship equalled the total tonnage of 4 other ships, from which 50,000 rials were expected. He agreed, "after many pitiful looks and grievous faces", to pay 15,000 within 4 days. But the amount was to be kept secret to enable him to raise it easily.

(ii) the *Hassania* (600 tons), 10,000 rials,

(iii) the *Salamatie* (450 tons), 8000 rials,

(admitted by Downton to be disproportionate to the ransom of No. 1).

(iv) the *Caudree* (200 tons), 5000 rials,

(v) the *Mamodie* (150 tons), 2000 rials.

1. Letter of Governor of Mocha to Middleton (14 July).

Ibid. 185. On 18th July, the *Rupril* the cotton ship of Cutsnagana once seized by Downton and subsequently isolated by a storm, came to the Mocha road and she was saved from attack by Turkish Jelbas or lighters by Downton's artillery fire. *Ibid.* 185-6.

2. The Turks granted this after "much ado and great whining".

The Captain of these four ships reluctant to pay the exorbitant ransom, enquired about the sum fixed for the *Rahimi* but the English did not disclose it. Thereupon they were granted time in which they could sound their creditors and have an idea of the amount they could raise among themselves.¹

But all this labour was in vain. Captain Saris had a wrangle with Middleton on 26th on board his own ship (the *Clove*), willingly released the Caudree of Dabhol entering the Mocha road to deliver her goods, and plainly informed Middleton that he would not be satisfied with anything less than 50,000 rails. So Middleton commanded Downton to negotiate with the Indian Skippers and raise the ransom money as high as possible "without unreasonable cruelty" on them. But Downton could not ignore the sum fixed for the *Rahimi* in any new fixation.

Without consulting the Indian Skippers Downton fixed the target at 33,500 rails on 26th July.² But on the pressure of Captain Saris's two agents (Captain Towerson and Mr. Cox) on the 27th Downton handed them a note of fixation for 40,000 rails.³

In the meantime the Captain and merchants of the *Hassania* met Middleton and, on knowing that the matter was settled by others, refused to go away "till the composition was made." As it was impossible to get them down without "violent cruelty", Middleton sent for Downton & Towerson. They came together with Cox, carrying Saris's message that the ransom as fixed by Downton and Towerson (i.e. 40,000 rails) should not be altered. Middleton wondered how Downton could make a settlement without the parties concerned.⁴

A tripartite meeting was held in Middleton's cabin between Captains Downton, Sharpeigh and Hawkins, the

1. *Ibid*, 186--7, 228.

2. The *Rahimi*, 15000; the *Hassania*, 8000; the *Salamatie*, 6000; the *Caudree*, 3000; the *Mamodie*, 1500.

3. 15,000, 10,000, 8,000, 5,000, 2,000. *Ibid*, 187--9.

4. When Downton explained how this was done, Middleton said something, but the text is damaged.

agents of Saris (Towerson and Cox) and the Indians. Middleton was not present. Against the English demand of 10,000 rials, the Indians offered only 4,000 vowing that they would not go out of the ship till they had made the agreement. So they lay on the half-deck all night and the next morning also. At last, about noon, after a "world of wearisome clamours" the bargain was struck at 8000 rials. Some merchants agreed to pay their share of the ransom in 8 days and others to pay as they could procure their share. The Indians were so completely under the control of the English that the latter could see that enough goods remained as security for their money.

As regards the *Salamatie* the English stuck to 8,000 rials but her captain and merchants successively offered 2000, 3000, 4000; and finally the ransom was fixed at 6000, payable as in the previous case. On the 20th July the Captain and merchants of the *Caudree* compounded for 2000 rials and those of the *Mamodie* for 1000. ¹

By 10th or 11th August, the Indian merchants and Skippers, while resenting the payment very much, paid the entire ransom money, of which Middleton got $\frac{3}{4}$ th and Saris $\frac{1}{4}$ th. The reason given by Downton about the resentment is revealing and throws considerable light on the attitude of the Turks towards the Indians and nature of the fleecing of the Indian ships by the English. "As the Indians, but only for serving their turns, are most hateful to Turks, so they make no conscience how on all advantages they exact upon them when of necessity they must be beholden to them, so that instead of recovering restitution from the Turks for the wrongs, done us, we made them an extraordinary fruitful harvest, and our wrongs remain still uprighted from them". ²

1. *Ibid.* 188-90.

2. *Ibid.* 190. The English factors had "to make even reckonings with the Crannies or Pursers of every ship" and to pay for goods received by exchanging English wares. *Ibid.* Saris sailed away from Mocha Road on 12th August; Middleton, after finishing some business with Indian Nakhudas on 14th, started on 15th and passed through the Straits of Babel Mandeb on 16th. *Ibid.* 191-2.

But even all this did not complete the store of misery of the Indian ships. Unable to get any spare cable from Saris, Middleton & Downton, to meet their urgent needs, "peeled the Indian ships of all that possibly we could, of their best cables". But they proved to be "of small force and less continuance" in English ships.

6. *Reaction in India*

The news of the fate of the Indian ships in the Red Sea reached Surat in September, 1612. A Mughal ship of Surat just returning from Mocha, gave out (24th Sept.) that Sir Henry Middleton, along with three or four ships, had captured several Indian ships and compelled them to deliver their goods to him at rates dictated by him and also seized many other goods without anything in return. Several Englishmen (Thomas Aldworth, William Biddulph and Nicholas Withington), then trading with the mainland remained doubtful of what might befall them and their goods, for there was "a general murmuring in the city about this news". But they found "the people very reasonable". Influential men, who came to those Englishmen assured them that the news need not disturb them, and that in spite of the injury done by Middleton to the Indian ships, they would continue to show "honest respect" to the Englishmen.²

1. *Ibid*, 233—5.

2. *Ibid*, 234—5. Another Surat ship returned from the Red Sea on 29th September, *Ibid*.

*Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar Research Society
held on the 17th July, 1949.*

PRESIDENT :—

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha (in the Chair).

Dr. K. K. Datta.

Mr. Saiyid Ahsan Shere.

Dr. J. N. Sarkar.

Dr. T. Chowdhury.

Dr. S. C. Chatterji.

Dr S. C. Sarkar.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the meeting of the Council held on January 16, 1949.

2(a) Passed the monthly accounts for the months January to June, 1949.

(b) Passed the Annual Accounts for the year 1948-49.

(c) Passed the Revised Budget for the year 1949-50 and the Budget Estimate for the year 1950-51.

(d) Passed the following payments :—

| | Rs. | a. | p. |
|---|-----|----|----|
| i. Patna Law Press—Printing Journal .. | 574 | 13 | 0 |
| Vol. 34 (1-2) 1948. | | | |
| Patna Law Press—Stationery .. | 31 | 6 | 3 |
| ii. Messrs. B. H. Blackwell, Ltd.—Purchase of Books. | 106 | 1 | 0 |
| “ “ “ “ .. | 750 | 2 | 0 |
| “ “ “ “ .. | 234 | 3 | 0 |
| iii Paper for Journal .. | 122 | 0 | 0 |
| iv Patna Electric Supply Co.—To Supply Electric Connection in Society's godown. | 165 | 0 | 0 |
| v Kitabistan, Allahabad—Purchase of Books .. | 24 | 7 | 0 |
| vi Chuckervetty Chatterji & Co. “ .. | 11 | 2 | 0 |
| vii Indian Photo Engraving Co.—Printing of plates | 117 | 0 | 0 |
| viii T. A. of Lecturer, Annual Meeting .. | 296 | 14 | 0 |
| ix Free Press—Advance for Printing Journal .. | 800 | 0 | 0 |
| x Bhiksu Kasyapa—Purchase of Tripitaka .. | 558 | 8 | 0 |
| xi Ramkishun, Bookbinder—Binding charges of books. | 87 | 12 | 0 |
| xii S. A. Sarkar—Purchase of Books .. | 11 | 11 | 6 |
| xiii Chandra Bros. Electrically wiring godown | 43 | 0 | 0 |
| xiv Arthur Probsthain—Purchase of Books .. | 25 | 8 | 0 |
| xv Europa Publications— .. | 40 | 2 | 0 |

3. Resolved that the name of Dr. T. Chowdhury be forwarded to the Bihar Sanskrit Association as elected to represent the Society on the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad for the next term of office.

- 4(a) Resolved that Government be written to, asking for a grant of Rs. 5,000 annually for the printing of the Journal of the Bihar Research Society henceforward, with a strong case made out for it, with the assistance of the Editor-in-charge.
- (b) In the meantime Father Moran is to be sounded, regarding possibilities of their new press.
5. Resolved that the Archive Expert be invited to come sometime before the Pujahs, on terms referred to in Dr. Sen's letter, and that thereafter, on his report, Government be asked to provide the cost of carrying out his recommendations.
6. Resolved that exchange of current publications with the Institute of Volkerkunde, University of Wien, Austria be established.
7. Resolved that we should await the selection of the University delegate to the Oriental Conference, who might represent us as well.
8. Elected Dr. Subhadra Jha as an ordinary member of the Society.
9. Resolved that Government be asked for a special grant to enable the Society to publish :—
 - i. Dr. Johnston's critical Edition of Mahayanottaratantra, a work on Tibetan Manuscripts.
 - ii. Dr. Sarkar's Catalogue of Tibetan Manuscript (30 bundles).

Since this technical printing can only be taken up by the Allahabad Law Journal Press, whose charges are very heavy. (N. B. An Estimate should first be obtained from the Allahabad Law Journal Press.)

BIHAR RESEARCH SOCIETY.
Annual Account for 1948-49.

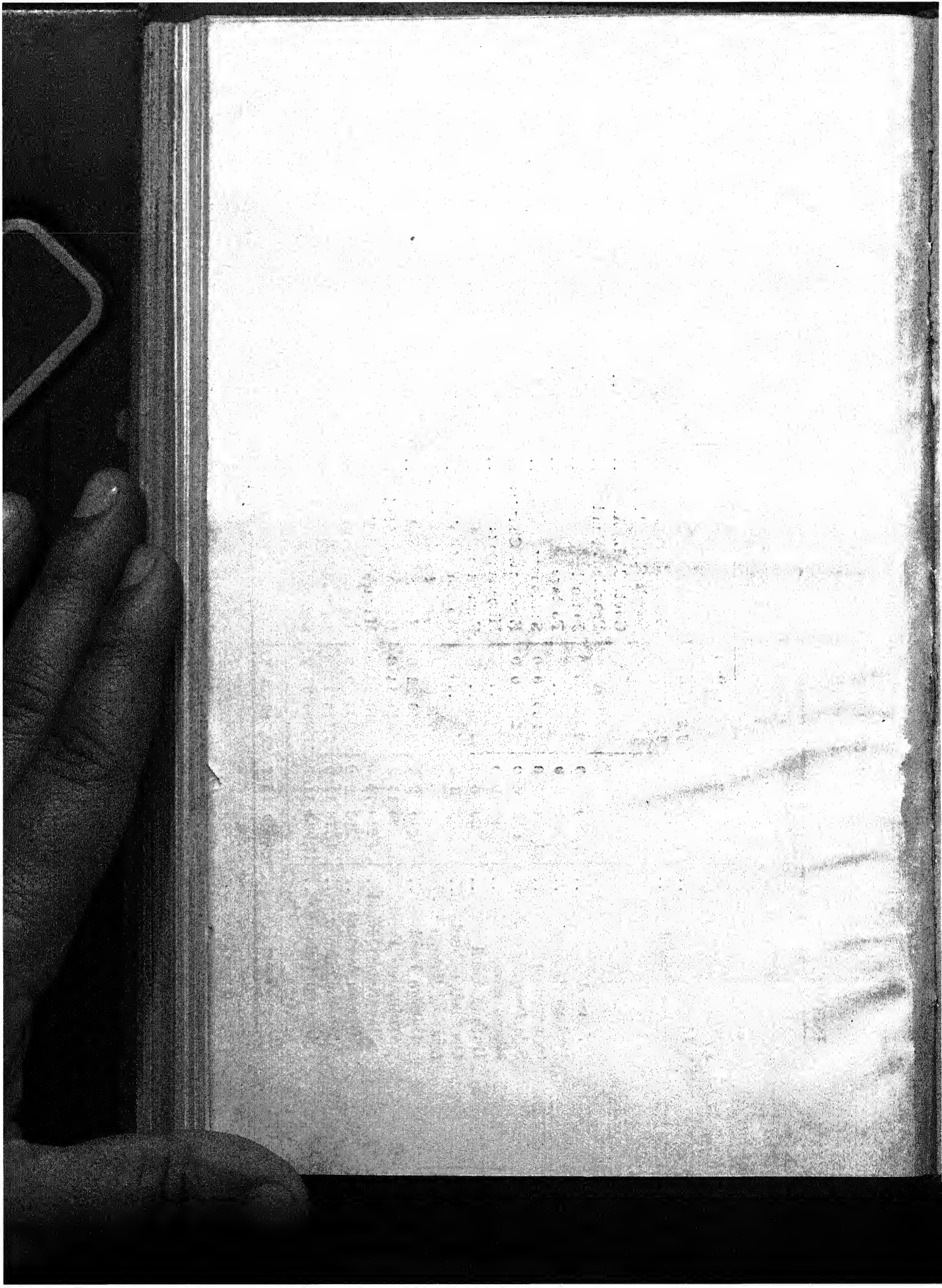
VOL. XXIV, PTS. III & IV]

ANNUAL ACCOUNTS

215

EXPENDITURE.

| INCOME. | | EXPENDITURE. | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Heads. | Actuals. | Revised budget. | Heads. | Actuals. | Revised budget. |
| | Rs. a. p. | Rs. a. p. | | Rs. a. p. | Rs. a. p. |
| <i>Government Grant :—</i> | | | | | |
| Library .. | 1,200 0 0 | 1,200 0 0 | Library .. | 1,344 12 9 | 1,200 0 0 |
| Establishment .. | 1,952 0 0 | 1,456 0 0 | Establishment .. | 2,206 15 0 | 1,200 0 0 |
| | | | Soc'y's C. L. A. .. | .. | 328 0 0 |
| | | | Govt. C. L. A. .. | .. | 456 0 0 |
| | | | Provident Fund .. | .. | 56 0 0 |
| Journal .. | 2,400 0 0 | 2,400 0 0 | Journal .. | 2,697 5 3 | 2,600 0 0 |
| Postage Recovered .. | 22 3 0 | .. | Postage .. | 206 3 0 | 400 0 0 |
| Subscription .. | 1,099 5 0 | 900 0 0 | Stationery .. | 100 10 9 | 150 0 0 |
| Sale Proceeds of Journal .. | 656 4 0 | 229 0 0 | Electrical Charges .. | 78 1 9 | 100 0 0 |
| Miscellaneous .. | 49 0 0 | .. | Miscellaneous .. | 847 7 0 | .. |
| Huthwa Fund .. | 20 0 0 | .. | Furniture .. | 1,754 3 0 | 2,500 0 0 |
| Darbhangha Fund .. | 34 3 0 | .. | Tibetan Scholar .. | 235 0 0 | .. |
| <i>Opening Balance :—</i> | | | <i>Closing Balance :—</i> | | |
| Huthwa Fund .. | 249 2 6 | 249 2 6 | Huthwa Fund .. | 269 2 6 | 269 2 6 |
| Darbhangha Fund .. | 430 14 3 | 430 14 3 | Darbhangha Fund .. | 465 1 3 | 465 1 3 |
| Mayurbhanj Fund .. | 210 14 9½ | 210 14 9½ | Mayurbhanj Fund .. | 210 14 9½ | 210 14 9½ |
| Tibetan Account .. | 503 9 9 | 503 9 9 | Tibetan Account .. | 503 9 9 | 503 9 9 |
| Tibetan Scholar .. | 1,178 12 0 | 1,178 12 0 | Tibetan Scholar .. | 943 12 0 | 943 12 0 |
| General Balance .. | 11,983 11 3½ | 11,983 11 3½ | General Balance .. | 10,126 12 9½ | 9,359 8 3½ |
| Total .. | 21,989 15 7 | 20,742 0 7 | Total .. | 21,989 15 7 | 20,742 0 7 |



ALPHABETICAL INDEX.

ARTICLES.

- Annual Review of the Bihar Research Society 1948-49. By the Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P. Sinha ... 28
- (The) Appointment of the First Indian Deputy Collector in Tirhoot under the Rule of the English East India Company (Based on Muzaffarpur Collectorate Records). By Surajdeo Narain, M. A., B. L., G. B. B. College, Muzaffarpur ... 61
- (The First) Attempt to Open a Public Granary in Tirhoot in the Regime of the East India Company (Based on Muzaffarpur Collectorate Records). By Surajdeo Narain, M. A., B. L., G. B. B. College, Muzaffarpur ... 175
- Calcutta-Oudh Correspondence Relating to Jahandar Shah, 1788 A. D. By Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M. A., Ph. D., P. R. S., Professor of History, Patna College ... 165
- (The) Central Executive from 1784 to 1833. By Professor Sachchidananda, M. A., Patna College, Patna ... 183
- (Two) Copper Plate Inscriptions of the Early Ganga Kings of Kalinga. By Sri Satyanarayana Rajguru, W. B. P., Research Assistant, Kalinga Historical Society. (With plates) ... 1
- Khandika and Kalinga. By S. V. Sohoni, I. C. S. ... 91
- Location of Siegerdis. By S. V. Sohoni, I. C. S. ... 71
- (A) Note on Abhidharma-Samuccaya Bhasya and its Author, Shriramati. By Prahlada Pradhan, M. A., Santiniketan, Bolpur ... 34
- (A) Note on the Word Navakoti in the Title Navakoti Karnata Kalavara gesvara. By Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, M. A., Ph. D. ... 161
- (The) Rape of Indian Ships in the Indian Waters. 1612. By Dr. J. N. Sarkar, M. A., Ph. D., Patna College
- Review of :—
- Coins of Marwar (from 400 B. C. to 1945 A. D.). By Mm. Pt. Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Superintendent, Archaeological Department and Sumer Public Library, Jodhpur. By Dr. J. N. Sarkar, M. A. Ph. D., Patna College ... 101
- India's March to Freedom. By Dr. K. K. Datta, M. A., Ph. D., P. R. S. By Dr. Hari Ranjan Ghoshal, M. A., D. Litt. ... 100
- Indian Constitutional Documents. Vol. III. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Dr. Anil Chandra Banerjee, M. A., P. R. S., Ph. D. Lecturer in History, Calcutta University. By Dr. K. K. Datta, M. A., Ph. D., P. R. S. ... 99
- Mahodaya Art Souvenir of "Theertha" and "Varna" from the Immortal Bhoja Royal House of the 11th Century, 9th February, 1948, Mahodaya Day. By M. K. Ranganathan, Engineer, P. W. D. (Retired). ... 97
- Sasanka. By Dr. B. P. Sinha, M. A., Ph. D. (London), Patna University ... 111
- Schism and Sarnath. By Adris Banerji, M. A., Curator, Nalanda Museum, Nalanda ... 74
- Some New Light on the Gahadavalas of Kanauj. The Kasiraja of the Prakertapaingalam and His Chief Minister, Vidyadhara. By Dasharatha Sharma, M. A., D. Litt., Hindu College, Delhi ... 155
- (A) Study of the Word Brahman. By Buddha Prakash, M. A., LL. B., Farrukhabad ... 93

(The) Sunga Dynasty. By Dr. Tarapada Bhattacharya, M. A., D. Litt., Professor. B. N. College, Patna

AUTHORS WITH THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

| | |
|--|-----|
| Banerji, Adris, M. A., Curator, Nalanda Museum, Nalanda-Schism and Sarnath | 74 |
| Bhattacharya, Dr. Tarapada, M. A., D. Litt., Professor, B. N. College, Patna—The Sunga Dynasty. | 47 |
| Buddha Prakash, M. A., LL. B., Farrukhabad—A Study of the Word Brahman | 93 |
| Datta, Dr. K. K., M. A., Ph. D., P. R. S., Professor of History, Patna College, Patna-Calcutta-Oudh Correspondence Relating to Jahandar Shah, 1788 A. D. | 165 |
| Review of Indian Constitutional Documents Vol. III. Edited with Introduction and Notes. By Dr. Anil Chandra Banerjee, M. A., P. R. S., Ph. D., Lecturer in History, Calcutta University | 99 |
| Ghoshal, Dr. Hari Ranjan, M. A., D. Litt., Review of India's March to Freedom. By Dr. K. K. Datta, M. A., P. R. S., Ph. D. | 100 |
| Pradhan, Prahlada, M. A., Santiniketan, Bolpur—A Note on Abhidharma-Samuccaya Bhasya and its Author, Sthiramati | 34 |
| Rajgurau, Sri Satyanarayana, W. B.P., Research Assistant, Kalinga Historical Society. Two Copper Plate Inscriptions of the Early Ganga Kings of Kalinga (with plates) | 1 |
| Sachchidananda, M. A., Professor, Patna College, Patna. The Central Executive from 1784 to 1833. | 183 |
| Sarkar, Dr. J. N., M. A., Ph. D., Patna College, Patna. The Rape of Indian Ships in Indian Waters 1612 | 199 |
| Review of :— | |
| Coins of Marawar (from 400 B. C. to 1945 A. D.). By Mm. Pt. Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Superintendent, Archaeological Department and Sumer Public Library, Jodhpur | 101 |
| Mahodaya Art Souvenir of "Theertha" and "Varna" from the Immortal Bhoja Royal House of the 11th Century, 9th February, 1948, Mahodaya Day. By M. K. Ranganathan, Engineer, P. W. D. (Retired) | 97 |
| Sharma. Dasharatha, M. A., D. Litt., Hindu College, Delhi—Some New Light on the Gahadavalas of Kanauj. The Kasiraja of the Prakrtapaingalam and His Chief Minister Vidyadhara | 155 |
| Sinha, Dr. B. P., M. A., Ph. D. (London), Patna/University Sasanka | 111 |
| Sinha, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice B. P.—Annual Review of the Bihar Research Society 1948-49 | 28 |
| Sohoni, S. V., I. C. S.—Khandika and Kalinga | 91 |
| Location of Siegerdis | 71 |
| Subrahmanyam, Dr. R., M. A., Ph. D., A. Note on the Word Navakoti in the Title Navakoti Karnata Kalavarageswara | 161 |
| Surajdeo Narain, M. A., B. L., G. B. B. College, Muzaffarpur. The Appointment of the First Indian Deputy Collector in Tirhoot under the Rule of the English East India Company (based on Muzaffarpur Collectorate Records) | 61 |
| The First Attempt to Open a Public Granary in Tirhoot in the Regime of the East India Company (Based on Muzaffarpur Collectorate Records) | 175 |

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

| | | |
|--|-----|-----|
| Annual Report of the Bihar Research Society 1948-49 | ... | 104 |
| Proceedings of the Annual General Meeting held on April, 1949 | | 106 |
| Proceedings of the Meeting of the Council held on January 16, 1949 | ... | 107 |
| Proceedings of the Meeting of the Council held on July 17, 1949 | | 213 |

APPENDIX

| | | |
|--|-----|------|
| Mudgaradutam, by the late Professor Ramavatara Sarma, Sahitya-charya, M. A., Patna College | ... | 1-20 |
|--|-----|------|

LIST OF PLATES

| |
|---|
| Nirakarpur Copper Plates—5 facing page 2 |
| Chipurapalli Copper Plates—4 facing page 11 |

